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ABSTRACT

About 62.8 million of the total U.S. population live in the South; of these, about 10% live in the "rural" South. Young people (under 25 years of age) constitute almost half of the total population in the South--29.4 million. Over one-third of all southern people are under 18 years of age. The racial composition of the youth population in the South differs dramatically from every other region in that about one out of every five southern youth are Black. This paper reviews and synthesizes research dealing with the educational abilities and ambitions of these youth. Specific objectives are to: provide a general framework against which youths' interests, abilities, aspirations and expectations are scientifically assessed within the context of educational settings; synthesize the major existing literature relating to these characteristics of Black youth in the rural South for the use of educators and other concerned individuals; and stimulate a concern for and interest in research of Black youth in the South, suggest patterns of studying them, and suggest areas in which further research is needed. The report consists of two relatively independent sections of research synthesis reflecting "educational abilities and interests" and "occupational and educational status aspirations and expectations". A brief demographic overview of the distribution of rural Black youth in the South is included. (NQ)

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BLACK YOUTH IN THE RURAL SOUTH:

EDUCATIONAL ABILITIES AND AMBITIONS

Editors

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and

William C. Boykin, Sr[2]

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

It is our belief that an attempt to synthesize research results about rural Black youth in the U.S. is a worthwhile endeavor and a task long overdue. We convinced ERIC-CRESS of this and with their initial financial support, encouragement, and facilitation we began working on this task almost three years ago. Although we set a high priority on the accomplishment of this task, other commitments and obligations prevented us from finishing it earlier. Although the bulk of the report was in completed draft by mid-1974, it should still represent the most current research knowledge about rural Black youth in the southern U.S. available within a single set of covers.

It is our hope that this report will help attract public attention to rural Black youth and their problems and, perhaps, bring into question some of the unfounded stereotypes that exist about them. We hope our colleagues in the social sciences and education will find within these pages a wealth of questions, ideas, and hypotheses to stimulate their interest in researching this important and largely ignored segment of our youth population.

We wish to acknowledge the generosity of our colleagues in the Rural Sociology Department at Texas A&M University for generously agreeing to contribute their time, effort and research results to this effort. Obviously, we are indebted to Dr. Everett Edington - Director of ERIC-CRESS - for stimulating our interest in starting this effort and for his continuous "encouragement" for us to complete it.

William P. Kuvlesky
William C. Boykin, Sr.

INTRODUCTION

(By William P. Kuvlesky and William C. Boykin, Sr.)

Almost one out of every ten of the 25 million rural youth in the U.S. is a Black living in the South. Almost all rural Black youth reside in the southern region -- more than two and one-fourth million young people. This figure constitutes about one-third of all Black youth in the southern U.S. Any way you want to look at it -- in terms of absolute numbers or relative proportions -- rural Black youth in the South constitute a large and significant population. While few would question that these youth are in general among the most deprived youth in our country, and suffer great social handicaps relative to upward social mobility, one will find it very difficult to locate literature focusing specifically on what research has to say about their problems, needs, or attributes.

During the past decade several reports or books have been published to call attention to the special needs of rural youth in our society (Nash, 1965; Henderson, 1971; Griessman and Densley, 1969); no similar intensive treatment has been given to rural Black youth. Similarly, in recent years a number of volumes have been produced to call attention to the particular problems of Black youth in general; however, these tend to demonstrate a strong favoritism for metropolitan youth and largely ignore rural Black youth (Glenn and Bonjean, 1969; Broom and Glenn, 1967; Boskin, 1969; Academy of Political Science, 1968; Gottlieb and Reeves, 1963; Proctor, 1966; Fisher, 1970; Ladner, 1971).

Until a very recent report released by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station at Prairie View A&M University (Upham and Jimenez, 1973) appeared, it was impossible to even gain easy access to summary figures on the distribution

and characteristics of rural Black youth. The dearth of research attention given to this important subgrouping of youth is readily apparent in what has been a heavily researched area -- status aspirations and expectations of disadvantaged youth (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1967; Griessman and Densley, 1969). Although there has been a recent spurt of research activity in this problem area relative to southern rural Black youth (Cosby, et al., 1973), even in this case the research findings appear in scattered places and remain to be codified and synthesized.[1] Research in other aspects of behavior, social conditions, and social attributes and orientations is sadly lacking for rural youth as a whole and for rural Black youth in particular (Kuvlesky, 1973).

It is the strong opinion of the authors that a start should be made at pulling together under a single set of covers at least some of the relevant research knowledge on rural Black youth, highlighting their problems and needs. This is the general objective of this report.

Objectives

While it is common to refer to the Black ethnic minority as a single entity, it should be recognized that a relatively high degree of heterogeneity exists among this group of Americans. These differences are manifested through variations in general life styles and life goals, in the kinds and levels of scholastic and specific abilities possessed, in their occupational

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[1] Most of this recent surge of work in the South has been due to an interstate, regional project, S-81, "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility" and its predecessor, S-61, "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South." These projects involved researchers from Agricultural Experiment Stations in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. This cooperative interstate research was begun in 1966 and has continued building a longitudinal data bank on southern rural youth to the present time.

and educational aspirations and expectations, and in their orientations toward the dominant American culture.[2] Consequently, Black youth in the rural South should be expected to have varying abilities, needs, interests, and life goals.

The compilation of this review and synthesis is premised upon three considerations: (1) Black youth in the rural South have enough cultural similarities to constitute study as a group; (2) there is an extreme scarcity of consistent and systematic studies of these youth; (3) certain myths concerning Black youth need to be examined under the light of careful scientific research. The ultimate purpose of this compilation, therefore, is to foster a more fundamental understanding of the needs and orientations of Black youth so that their educational, personal, and social development can be fostered through the educational systems in the South. Specific objectives contributory to this general purpose are as follows:

1. To provide a general framework against which youths' interests, abilities, aspirations and expectations are scientifically assessed within the context of educational settings.

2. To synthesize in a single volume the major existing literature relating to these characteristics of Black youth in the rural South for the use of educators and other concerned individuals.

3. To stimulate a concern for and interest in research of Black youth in the South; suggest patterns of studying these youth; and suggest areas in which further research is needed.

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[2] A recent study of Black families in nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas of East Texas indicates marked variations in lifestyle between these two populations and even dramatic variation in this regard and in reference to orientations (i.e., racial prejudice) among units of the same population (Dietrich, 1973; Kuvlesky, Warren and Ragland, 1972; Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971).

The heart of this report will consist of two relatively independent sections of research synthesis reflecting the particular interests and expertise of the co-authors: "Educational Abilities and Interests" and "Occupational and Educational Status Aspirations and Expectations." However, before moving on to these syntheses, we would like to present a brief demographic overview of the distribution of rural Black youth in the South.

Rural Black Youth in the South: Number and Distribution

For the purposes of this effort, youth will refer to persons under 25 years of age and rural will be defined in accordance with the U.S. Census definition.[3] Information presented here on the number and distribution of Black youth in the rural South were obtained for the most part from a recent analysis of 1970 U.S. Census data reported by Upham and Jimenez (1973).

Roughly one-third of the total U.S. population live in the South -- 62.8 million persons -- and about 10 percent of the total U.S. population live in the rural South. A substantially greater proportion of people in the South -- over a third -- live in rural places than in any other region of the U.S. (Table 1). In fact, more than two out of every five rural persons in the U.S. are located in the South. Very large numbers of rural people are to be found in North Carolina (2,796,538) and in Texas (2,266,898) and ten other southern states have between one and two million rural residents (Upham and Jimenez, 1973: Appendix, Table A-4).

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[3] Rural is defined as a place of less than 2500 population. This is a conservative definition of the common meaning of rurality in the authors' opinion. The use of nonmetropolitan areas as a designation or rurality would produce much larger figures for "rural" Black youth.

The southern population is younger,on the whole,than that of any other region in the United States: the median age is 27.3 years. Children and young people ("youth") constitute almost half of the total population (29.4 million) in the South. What is more, over one-third of all southern people are under 18 years of age.

The racial composition of the youth population in the South differs dramatically from every other region in that about one out of every five southern youth are Black (Table 1). Less than five percent of the total youth in the South are of Spanish heritage and other ethnic racial minorities are represented in very small numbers.

About 18 percent of the people in the rural South are Black, which is very similar to the rate existing for the region as a whole. Throughout the rural South the dependency ratio is consistently higher for Blacks than Whites -- 147.2 for Blacks as compared with 92.5 for the White population for the whole region.[4] These figures mean that,on the whole,Black adults bear a much heavier burden by supporting much larger numbers of children than do their White counterparts. At the same time,the magnitude of this racial difference varies greatly by state (Upham and Jimenez, 1973).

About 10½ million rural youth live in the southern U.S. Almost a third of this number are concentrated in only three states -- North Carolina, Texas, and Georgia (Table 2). A little more than 21 percent of this total (2,237,508) are Black youth. Within the region there is tremendous variation in the proportions of rural youth that are Black, ranging from over 40 percent in Mississippi and South Carolina to less than 5 percent in Kentucky, West

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[4]The dependency ratio is an index of the number of nonproductive persons relative to productive ones in a given population.

Virginia and Oklahoma (Table 2). Black rural youth constitute a third or more of the rural youth population in Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi. Most of the Black rural youth are under 18 years of age -- a total of about 1,800,000 (Table 3).

The significance of the number of Black youth in any particular state within the southern region varies by state and is relative to the base population (i.e., all youth, all rural youth, all Black youth) one is interested in (Table 4). In reference to all Black youth in a state, with the exception of a few states (i.e., Florida, Maryland, Oklahoma and Texas), rural Black youth make up from 20 percent to 60 percent of all Black youth. Over half of all Black youth in South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia live in rural places and almost half are rural in Arkansas, as well. Sizeable proportions, between 30 and 40 percent of all Black youth in Alabama, Delaware, Georgia and Louisiana are rural residents.

In most states within the South, rural Black youth make up at least 10 percent of the total youth in the state -- notable exceptions are Florida, Delaware, Kentucky and Virginia (Table 4). Conversely, Black youth make up one-third of all youth in Tennessee and Maryland. In an additional three states -- Texas, South Carolina and Mississippi -- rural Black youth make up from 20 to 30 percent of all youth in the state. In summary, in most of the southern states rural Black youth are indeed a large component of all school-aged youth. We have included in Appendix A detailed frequency and percentage distributions of the rural Black youth in each state of the South by age group for the use of educators and other interested persons.

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Rural Population, by Region.*

Region	Percent Rural
Northeast	19.6
North Central	28.4
South	35.4
West	17.1

Table 2
Rural Youth Under 25 Years of Age in the South, By Race, 1970*

State	Number of Rural Youth	Race Group		
		White	Black	Percent Black
Alabama	684,067	488,815	194,610	28.45
Arkansas	428,615	338,744	88,991	20.76
Delaware	71,779	58,069	13,205	18.39
Florida	580,155	474,831	103,318	17.81
Georgia	888,067	651,529	235,812	26.55
Kentucky	707,592	682,138	24,959	3.53
Louisiana	628,705	422,794	203,751	32.41
Maryland	433,627	365,285	66,979	15.45
Mississippi	616,386	325,069	288,987	46.88
North Carolina	1,327,826	970,349	333,528	25.12
Oklahoma	344,619	302,931	15,282	4.43
South Carolina	691,191	411,733	278,349	40.27
Tennessee	725,632	656,402	68,900	9.49
Texas	1,001,634	879,679	119,830	11.96
Virginia	801,493	613,456	186,488	23.27
West Virginia	487,809	472,884	14,529	2.98
Total	10,419,202	8,114,708	2,237,508	21.47

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C, for each state, Table 48.

*These tables were taken from a recent report by Upham and Jimenez (1973: Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 3
Rural Youth Under 18 Years of Age in the South, By Race*

State	Number of Rural Youth	Race Group		
		White	Black	Percent Black
Alabama	535,805	375,248	160,096	29.88
Arkansas	341,152	265,790	74,690	21.89
Delaware	55,660	44,456	10,779	19.37
Florida	450,273	364,329	84,504	18.77
Georgia	687,190	495,278	191,433	27.86
Kentucky	559,777	539,787	19,612	3.50
Louisiana	507,567	338,187	167,648	33.03
Maryland	341,765	287,654	53,213	15.57
Mississippi	490,977	250,537	238,673	48.61
North Carolina	1,017,809	731,225	267,962	26.33
Oklahoma	276,670	242,781	12,258	4.43
South Carolina	535,327	310,432	224,062	41.86
Tennessee	565,938	509,108	56,601	10.01
Texas	802,32?	703,342	97,442	12.15
Virginia	618,009	467,882	149,020	24.11
West Virginia	384,012	371,621	12,078	3.15
Total	8,170,252	6,297,657	1,820,071	22.28

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C, for each state, Table 48.

*This table was taken from a recent report by Upham and Jimenez (1973: Table 5).

Table 4
Number and Proportions of Rural Southern Black Youth
Under 25 Years of Age Among Various Populations in the South, by State*

State	Number of Black Youth in Rural Areas	Percent Rural Black Youth in the South		
		All Youth In the South	All Rural Youth In the South	All Black Youth In the South
Alabama	194,610	11.90	28.4	39.21
Arkansas	88,991	10.27	20.76	45.86
Delaware	13,205	5.06	18.40	30.41
Florida	103,318	3.66	17.81	17.98
Georgia	235,812	10.55	26.55	35.75
Kentucky	24,959	1.65	3.52	20.92
Louisiana	203,751	11.13	32.40	33.11
Maryland	66,979	36.40	15.44	17.81
Mississippi	288,987	26.14	46.88	56.69
North Carolina	333,528	13.69	25.12	52.94
Oklahoma	15,282	13.44	4.43	16.42
South Carolina	278,349	21.30	40.27	60.45
Tennessee	68,900	38.36	9.49	20.60
Texas	119,830	22.28	11.96	15.89
Virginia	186,488	8.45	23.26	53.77
West Virginia	14,529	18.75	2.98	45.69

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C, for each state, Tables 3 and 48.

*This table was taken from a recent report by Upham and Jimenez (1973: Table 8).

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BLACK YOUTH IN THE RURAL SOUTH: THEIR ABILITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT*

(By William C. Boykin, Sr.)

Introduction

This paper represents an attempt to review and synthesize the major concepts of the mental testing movement as it relates to systematic studies among and about Black youth in the rural sections of the southern United States. At times in the presentation it will, of course, become necessary to refer to the abilities of youth, both Black and White, on a comparative basis in order to illuminate the implications of research for educational programs. Generally, however, the major thrust will be on Black youth in the rural South. For the benefit of the reader and to facilitate economic use of space, a "glossary" of technical testing terms to be used here is provided at the end of this section.

There exists a dearth of relevant research literature about rural Black youth of the South. The existing relevant studies are reviewed with appropriate comment in the Overview and Discussion section of this paper.

The writer deems it essential to briefly present selected aspects of the history of mental testing and selected basic concepts of psychometrics here in an attempt to establish for the reader a theoretical framework in which human ability assessment is currently made. An understanding of the concepts of ability measurement is important to this presentation because much of what

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*We wish to acknowledge the assistance provided by Christine Ann Copp, a student assistant at Texas A&M University, in reviewing part of the relevant literature cited here.

happens, or fails to happen, to youth in schools depends substantially upon these simple indices derived from the testing procedures.

Historical and Conceptual Bases of Ability Testing

It was not until about 1850 that scientists began to devise measuring techniques to assess human mental potential. The mainstream of modern psychological testing was developed from three main tributaries: (1) physiological and experimental psychology, (2) Darwinian biology, and (3) the clinical concern for the maladjusted and feeble-minded. The pioneering work of the Germans, the French and the English lent their particular flavor and influence to a movement which has affected the whole of the educational system in America.

Wilhelm Wundt, a German psychologist, must be credited with the development of precise measurement techniques in clinical psychology and for discovering certain facts which are true and common of all men. Francis Galton, the founder of the eugenics movement, had a livelong concern for individual differences among men. In addition, he invented the statistical technique of correlation widely used today in scientific research. Without doubt, some of his conclusions about human differences were influenced by those of his famous and brilliant cousin, Charles Darwin. Alfred Binet, of course, was the true founder of psychological testing. As minister of the feeble-minded in France, he devised the first simple tests to separate the feeble-minded from more normal children. Through these tests he assessed the level of capacity to learn; it was not until some years later that Stern invented the term Intelligence Quotient (IQ) as an index to potential. The central theme of the testing movement, then and now, is that anything which exists, exists in some quantity and can therefore be measured. It is important to note here that scientists do not necessarily imply by this concept that mental abilities can be measured accurately.

James McKeen Cattell had studied in Germany under Wundt, and in England under Galton. It was he who, more than any other single individual, introduced scientific mental testing on the American scene about the turn of the century. Hence, his proclivity for precise measurement was borrowed from Wundt; his heavy emphasis in tests on the concept of hereditary genius was influenced by Galton.

It would require several volumes to discuss the history and development of psychological measurement in America since 1900. The movement may be characterized as follows for brevity: From 1900 to 1915 was the pioneering period. Major activity centered around devising and revising tests and validating. From 1916 to 1930 may be characterized as the boom period. Tests multiplied like rabbits, accompanied by relatively uncritical use. From 1931 to 1960 tests have been viewed more critically. Educators began to examine results, to ask probing questions which resulted in skepticism in some quarters concerning the efficacy of their use. Since 1960 higher levels of sophistication have been developed and continue.

Basic Concepts

The Intelligence (General Scholastic Aptitude) Test

We infer from the way a person performs on a test that he has a particular level of potential to profit from instruction -- that he does have or does not have the mental potential for performing mental tasks set before him. We infer that he could perform up to a given level if he so chose to try. This potential, intelligence, lies along a continuum somewhere between "0" amount of ability and 160 (on some scales) amount of ability. We say that such tests sample with some degree of reliability and validity the extent to which an

individual has absorbed the general elements of the culture in which, it is assumed, he has lived. This is not to dismiss the many bold attempts to develop so-called "culture-free" tests. In general, however, so-called intelligence tests measure scholastic aptitude or the ability to perform school-type tasks. Since to perform school-type tasks depends heavily upon one's ability to deal with verbal symbols and abstractions, we make an inference: If, through the years, one has learned to deal well with these factors of the culture, he has potential for achievement, and hence an inference about his mental powers. Whether a particular test is valid for a particular individual or group of individuals depends upon the extent to which the general factors selected for the test are truly representative of those of the individual's cultural heritage. In testing we make an assumption: that on a given test one has performed to the maximum of his capacity.

The validity of the premise that what one has learned in the past is an index to what he can learn in the future depends upon certain very obvious factors: (a) whether or not the individual has had the opportunity to have learned in the past, (b) whether or not the tester chooses at that time to perform up to his maximum capacity, (c) whether or not the tester at the time of test administration is suffering under influences which inhibit his maximum performance, and (d) whether or not the procedures and conditions under which the test is administered is a replica (including subcultural sampling) of those under which it was validated.

Numerous injustices arise by way of interpretation of intelligence test scores. Among these are those related to validity, which has to do with whether or not a test assesses what it purports to assess. It is entirely misleading to interpret a test score as a measure of one's innate (inborn) ability. Since no test has been devised to assess a person's inborn potential, we can only

infer something about this capacity. Here, extreme caution must be exercised lest we also include environmental influences under the rubric of innate. By "reliability," we mean how well a test measures what it purports to measure. The reliability coefficients of many standardized tests, considered to be excellent devices, linger around .60 and .70. Accurate? Not by any reasonable standards. But they are the best devised so far. For this reason, extreme caution is advised in interpretation of test scores. Aside from the factor of reliability, there is also the standard error of measurement of these devices. This error is one of sampling a population. Representativeness is concerned with whether each and every individual has had an opportunity and an equal opportunity to be represented in the validation sample. This factor recognizes that America is not one homogeneous culture. Rather, America is constituted of many and varied subcultures. Normally, tests are standardized through a very complex statistical procedure on a stratified proportional random sample of the American population. Unless these subcultural strata are meaningless, one should not be surprised when group means of scores on tests for any subculture are different, probably significantly so, from the total sample. Finally, by way of interpretation of scores, one's rating on a test must not be interpreted as one's personal worth or as the criterion of his potential. Assessment of personal worth is a value system of the society. Scores on an intelligence test (IQ) are only one of the indices of potential.

Achievement Tests

Achievement tests are specifically designed to assess the learning achieved by an individual within the framework of organized systematic instruction in schools. They are, therefore, subject oriented. It must not be assumed, however, that intelligence tests and achivement tests measure mutually exclusive

entities. That this is true is strongly suggested by the fact that scores on achievement tests in grammar and vocabulary usually correlate more highly with that on intelligence tests. To the extent that subject achievement tests are valid and reliable, they measure through representative sampling what a person has in fact learned, as distinct from intelligence tests which measure what a person could learn.

Multiple Aptitude Tests

General intelligence is only one of the many kinds of potential possessed by people through which prominence is achieved. Surely many, if not most, multiple ability tests have a scale to evalute general intelligence or the G scale. In addition, these batteries of tests attempt to assess about eleven other kinds of specific abilities such as musical, mathematical, clerical, mechanical, form perceptions, etc. Many of these batteries are well constructed and validated and have varying degrees of reliability as predictors of an individual's potential for achieving in specified occupational fields. These devices, too, should be used along with other bits of information about students before an adequate assessment of potential can be made. All too often the use of these devices is overlooked or disregarded in devising educational programs for heterogeneous groups of students.

Preference Scales -- (Interest Inventories)

While preference or interest is not, strictly speaking, an ability, it is a human attribute which counts immeasurably in students' use and development of potentials discussed above. Interest is the affinity which a person has for one type of activity over another. These projection devices are premised

on the proposition that, other things being equal, a person will likely perform best in those areas or occupational families which he likes best. They are, however, not predictors of success nor are they indicators of ability in various fields of occupational endeavor. Rather, they are considered to be somewhat more reliable and systematic measures of a person's likes and dislikes than are verbalized manifestations of preferences. If the results of these devices are used to augment the career selection process of school-age youth, they perhaps should be considered parcel and part of the ability syndrome of youth.

The foregoing discussion had for its purpose the establishment of the historical, theoretical and conceptual framework in which the subject of ability is discussed in this paper. An attempt has been made to set forth a comprehensive concept of ability, rather than the narrowly conceived concept of intelligence. The cultural background of minorities (especially the Black minority) in this country dictates a consideration of this expanded view.

Before we present a synthesis of the research pertaining to abilities of Black youth, it seems instructive to present a conceptual framework of ability origin and modifiability. This seems important to the author because much of the research dealing with ethnic comparisons, at least, has been conducted covertly to help unravel this perplexing phenomenon.

The Concept of Fixed Intelligence

The belief that intelligence is fixed at birth and that it is immutable has, and has had for some time, wide currency. Moreover, the concept is rather deeply rooted in both historical indices and in empirical findings in the sense that a fairly substantial body of evidence was gathered which was easy to reconcile with this premise. The idea of intelligence as derived solely from

genetic inheritance, as opposed to intelligence through environmental modifiability, was probably best described by Burt et al. as late as 1934 when they wrote:

> By intelligence, the psychologist understands inborn, all-around, intellectual ability. It is inherited, or at least innate, not due to teaching or training; it is intellectual, not emotional or moral, and remains uninfluenced by industry or zeal; it is general, not specific, i.e., it is not limited to any particular kind of work, but enters into all we do or say or think. Of all our mental qualities, it is the most far-reaching; fortunately, it can be measured with accuracy and ease.

Thus, such was the state of affairs in some quarters in 1934, seventy-five years after the publication of the Origin of the Species, and thirty-four years after the introduction of mental testing on the American scene. It was, however, the very introduction of these two concepts of the origin of intelligence which gave rise to the nature-nurture controversy that until today remains unsettled..

Later we shall attempt to deal more in detail with some of the historical and conceptual bases of the concept of fixed intelligence. But, at present, it is considered appropriate to comment on some of Burt's formulations regarding the concept. If, by intelligence we refer to the potential to profit by systematic instruction, we can certainly question some of Burt's formulations. The efficacy of sequential arrangement of courses and, in fact, the graded school, is open to serious question if his position is correct. If, as he says, intelligence is not influenced by zeal, how do we explain the documented effect of motivation on intelligence test performance? Intelligence test performance is our most valid index to a person's intelligence, inherited or acquired. Intelligence or aptitude is both specific and general (the multiple theories of intelligence). Again, to assert that intelligence can be measured with accuracy and ease only amplifies the naivete extant in certain quarters of that day.

Even the most ardent proponents of mental testing today would not dare impute such qualities of sophistication to even modern mental measurement devices. In fact, knowledgeable psychometricians would probably be the first to deny such an assertion.

Historical and Conceptual Bases for the Belief in Fixity of Intelligence

In 1859, Charles Darwin published his famous Origin of the Species, the basic theory of natural selection and genetic inheritance. In it he presented the well-known view that species of animals have evolved through a process in which chance variations and mutations which were inherited tend to survive and reproduce their own only if their inherited characteristics better enable them to survive and reproduce. The influence of this doctrine of natural selection had tremendous influence upon the concept of the origin and nature of human intelligence. Francis Galton served as the first link of this relationship.

In his study of hereditary genius (1869) he showed that men of great reputation and distinction in Great Britain tended to come from a relatively few families. Without recognizing that children of leading families in all cultures may have a greater opportunity for wholesome experiences and hence greater opportunity to achieve distinction, he concluded that genius is inherited. The fallacy of such conclusion, of course, should be obvious: The "evidence" only tended to confirm his faith in fixed intelligence.

So much, at present, for the historical and conceptual antecedents of the faith in fixed intelligence. How this faith became transplanted into the testing movement and the educational system is delineated in the section above in the theoretical concepts of the testing movement. Let us now turn to a review of empirical evidence supporting fixed intelligence.

Empirical Support of Fixed Intelligence

Facts derived from careful investigations have appeared to support the theory of fixed intelligence. As convincing as this evidence appears to be, all too often it appears so only because faulty inferences were drawn which, in a sense, tended to rationalize the theory. Some of this evidence is presented below.

Performance on the Complex Binet-type Tests Improves With Age

Binet and Simon readily noted this phenomenon and it led them to revise their tests in 1908 and 1911 and grade their tests according to age level. As it was found that these tests improved with age, it was only a short step to couple this finding with the widely-held belief (of that day) that the potential for development is predetermined by genetic inheritance. The inference was fixed intelligence.

The Average IQ of Children from Age to Age is Highly Constant

This constancy of average IQ also is easily reconcilable with fixity of intelligence from birth. In fact, however, it is a simple artifact of the manner in which Binet-Simon assumed that for any age level, one-fourth of the children would fail the tests. Hence, constancy of IQ merely shows that sufficient consistency exists among the various age-level tests to assure that average performance will be reproducible from sample to sample. It reveals nothing about the constancy of IQ for individual children, regardless of whether they failed a test, passed it minimally, or at a higher level.

IQ's of Children from Birth to Adulthood is Constant

This constancy was interpreted as reliability of the instrument and proof of fixed intelligence. Exceptions were, of course, observed. But these were explained as errors of measurement and since these errors tended to approximate the normal curve when plotted, they could easily be made consonant with a faith in fixed intelligence.

Scores on the Various Binet-type Tests Showed Correlation with Each Other

This fact led Spearman (1904) to view intellectual activity as composed of a single general (g) factor. He assumed that mental activity had some specific (s) factor and an error (E) factor. He suggested that tests heavily saturated with the general factor be used in batteries to assess intelligence. Hence, by this line of reasoning, tests of general intelligence are today saturated with abstractions, with less emphasis on specific factors. These principles of construction of tests tend to reinforce the fixity of the general factor as the principal determinant of intelligence.

Miscellaneous

A large mass of research in other varied areas tended to support the theory of fixed intelligence. They are too numerous to do other than mention them in passing here. They were correlations of test results with teachers' grades and estimates (Binet and Simon, 1905; Terman, 1916); studies of gifted children; World War II performance of officer candidates; IQ's of persons found in various scientific and technical occupations; and IQ comparisons of persons with varying degrees of genetic relationship. Incidentally, some of the above-mentioned studies (especially those dealing with varying degrees of genetic

relationship) yielded results which might well support the theory of plasticity of intelligence with experience (see below).

Evidence Dissonant with Fixed Intelligence

Dissonant evidence comes mainly from three sources: (a) studies of identical twins reared apart, (b) longitudinal studies of children, and (c) studies of the effect of training.

Since identical twins come from the same ovum and, therefore, share the same set of genes, such differences, if any, when reared apart in different environments, must be attributed to environmental variations. Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger (1937) assembled data on nineteen pairs and concluded from their results that environmental opportunities can account for substantial differences in measures of intelligence with the gene pool held constant. Woodworth (1941), on the other hand, argues that subject environments probably did not differ significantly from those of children reared in the same community because one of the characteristics of a culture is the uniformity it dictates for the way children are reared.

Other studies of identical twins reared apart suggest the effects of environment. In the classical study by Newman et al., "Education Advantages" correlated +.79 with IQ, while "Quality of Social and Physical Environments" correlated +.51 ($P < .05$) and +.30 (NS). Most of the other studies add little to a dissolution of the controversy.

Attempts were made by numerous investigators to conduct longitudinal studies of children to assess the natural plasticity of children. While test results were definitive, the results were open to a variety of interpretations and the problems of experimentally controlled situations added to the difficulties.

The Effect of Schooling

Studies on the effect which schooling has on the capacity to learn have suggested faith in plasticity of potential. Again because of the extreme difficulty of controlling the many intervening factors which might conceivably affect the outcome of the investigations, the results are not free from the possibility of plausible reinterpretations by those who have faith in fixed intelligence.

In conclusion, the nature-nurture controversy continues. The net effect is that the school systems have educators who believe that the pupil's potential to learn is strictly an inherited characteristic and has only limited modifiability, and those educators who hold that the environment plays a highly important role in human potential. Both of these types of educators have played important roles in our educational systems. How else could we have developed school systems which have the diversity and comprehensiveness which have become hallmarks of education in America?

Review and Synthesis of Relevant Research

Validity Studies

Since about 1964, charges and countercharges have become more vociferous regarding subcultural biases in standardized tests of intellectual potential. Many of these challenges have been directed at the traditional college admission tests: the SAT, the ACT, the CEEB and, for graduate schools, the GRE. The allegations, in general, are that such tests are so constructed as to give White, middle-class applicants an unfair advantage in the selective admission process. A corollary, therefore, is that they effectively operate to deny admission to selective colleges of Black applicants who are capable of

withstanding the rigors of collegiate study. In other words, it is alleged, the predictive validity of these tests differs for the applicants from the majority and minority cultures of the society. There are those who would contend that high school academic achievement should be the sole criterion for admission to college. This seems very well until one takes into account the possibility of wide disparity of educational quality from high school to high school.

The essential argument for selection among applicants by use of tests or measures of past performance is based upon the assumption of more applicants than places. Access to a given selective institution, according to this argument, is not a right of all individuals, but of those who are qualified or likely to succeed. The challengers, of course, counter that these admission procedures deny minority students "equal opportunity" to obtain a quality education.

This area of abilities of Black youth in the South is explored first in this paper because it tends to more fully illuminate the arena of scholastic aptitude of these youth, comparatively or otherwise. Furthermore, abilities at this level of educational development of the Black ethnic minority have been, for the past two decades, the principal means of upward mobility.

Before presenting evidence regarding test validity in this aspect of abilities, it is important to define the criteria by which test bias is evaluated. In this context, test bias is found if:

> the relationship between the criterion test scores and grades in college for Blacks is lower than a relationship found for Whites in a given institution, or, given similar relationships, if Black students outperform White students with the same SAT scores.

Evans and Reilly (1972) studied the effects of speediness as a specific biasing agent for minority (Black) law school applicants. The Law School

Admission Test (LSAT) was administered in fifty fee-free (predominantly Negro colleges) centers and regular testing centers in the continental United States, embracing approximately 5,000 testees, in February 1970. By altering the number of test items to be completed in the test and holding the completion time constant, the researchers devised four test situations: (1) fee-free speeded (FFS), (2) fee-free unspeeded (FFU), (3) regular center speeded (RCS), and (4) regular center unspeeded (RCU). The tests were desigred to determine: (1) if the test was more speeded for fee-free candidates than for regular candidates, and (2) if reducing the amount of speediness was more beneficial to fee-free candidates. They concluded that (1) the test is somewhat more speeded for fee-free candidates than for regular center candidates, (2) reducing the amount of speediness produced higher scores for both regular and fee-free center candidates, and reducing speediness is not significantly more beneficial (in terms of increasing the number of items answered correctly) to fee-free than to regular center candidates. Lower KR-20 reliability was observed under speeded conditions in the fee-free sample.

Davis and Temp (1971) concluded their study of SAT bias against Black students as follows:

1. The validity of SAT for predicting grades in college varies from institution to institution.

2. In some institutions, the validity of the SAT for predicting grades of Black students is not different from the validity of the SAT for predicting grades of White students, while in other institutions the validities do differ.

3. Where validities of the SAT for predicting grades of Blacks versus Whites are found to differ, there is a tendency for validities to be higher for Whites than for Blacks.

4. If prediction of future grades in college from SAT scores are based upon prediction equations devised from experience with White students, then Black students as a group are generally predicted to do better than they actually do.

Kallingal (1971) studied randomly selected Black and White students at Michigan State University in 1971. He tested the validity of certain tests for predicting the cumulative GPA of sophomore-level students at that university. Tests used were the MSU Reading Test, the MSU English Test, and the Verbal, Informational and Numerical subtests of the College Qualification Test (CQT). He concluded that the White regression equation for predicting Black cumulative GPA would result in overestimates of the criterion values.

Temp attempted to test the validity of the SAT for Blacks and Whites in thirteen integrated institutions. The study was not an investigation of actual admission practices at the various institutions, but a statistical investigation of the predictive validity of the SAT for Blacks and Whites at thirteen integrated institutions. These institutions reported to the investigator at the end of the freshman year status the SAT-verbal, the SAT-math (SAT V+M) and the GPA for both Blacks and Whites. Results: If prediction of GPA from SAT scores is based upon regression equations suitable for majority students, the minority (Black) students, as a group, are predicted to do about as well as (or better than) they actually do. In four of the colleges, the predicted GPA was more than half of a standard deviation above the actual GPA, and in only three colleges the GPA was less than one-fifth of a standard deviation above the actual GPA. Similar results were found by Kallingal in his study using a two-year GPA criterion at Michigan State University (1971).

General Scholastic Aptitude and Academic Achievement

A vast range of instruments have been devised which purport to assess the level of general intelligence of youth. This human quality should more appropriately be termed scholastic aptitude because it is more closely related to one's ability to perform school-like tasks than it is to job performance

during later life. In this context, it should be regarded as potential, i.e., what one could do if one so chose.

Since an estimate of one's scholastic aptitude is an inference from performance, it behooves the careful observer of this human trait to take into account the many variables which affect performance. The standardized test is designed to reduce the effect of some of these variables of the reported scores of individuals. However, there are many more related to the cultural and sub-cultural systems historically extant in America which, allegedly, are not taken into account. From this consideration alone arise many of the rejoinders to reported inferior performance of Black youth, as compared with White youth, on these measures of aptitude.

But the purpose of this section of this paper is not necessarily to compare the scholastic aptitudes of the various ethnic groups. It is rather to present research findings which tend to illuminate the extent of these abilities possessed by Black youth and to suggest, where research permits, some means by which the potential of these youth may be modified towards full realization.

Closely related to the aptitude for scholastic performance is the growth in academic achievement. In fact, it is generally known that the correlation between the verbal scale of intelligence tests and scholastic grades is higher than is true for other school subjects. Intelligence tests are heavily weighted with verbal symbols and abstractions. Academic achievement and growth in academic achievement, except in cases of non-normality, are closely associated with intelligence as measured by scholastic aptitude tests. No attempt is made, therefore, to separate these two kinds of human traits in this paper. Research bearing on those topics is presented here with appropriate references and emphasis on Negro youth.

The lower intelligence test performance of Negroes as compared with Whites has been documented extensively. Several factors appear to depress the IQ scores of Negroes. Two of these factors, motivation and language skills, have received some attention, but their effects are unclear.

Zigler and Butterfield (1968) obtained significantly higher IQ scores for disadvantaged preschool children with a test procedure directed toward optimizing the child's motivation to perform well than with a standard intelligence test procedure. Klugman (1944) found a significant difference for Negro, but not for White, 7- to 14-year-old children, between tests using money and those using praise as an incentive. Haggard (1954) found the use of movie passes as an incentive to significantly increase the scores of 11-year-old Negro children.

The influence of language abilities, or communication skills, on the intelligence of Negro children, has been construed in different ways. Those following Bernstein (1961) believe that the restricted language of the lower class shapes thought and cognitive style. If they are right, the intellectual performance of non-standard speakers would be low as a consequence of their restricted language. On the other hand, such linguists as Stewart (1967, 1968) take Bernstein and his followers (Deutsch, 1965) to task for suggesting that the language of Negroes is restricted or deficient. He indicated that the Negro dialect is a language system which is logical, coherent and, in its own way, grammatical.

In a study conducted by Flaugher, Black students from two cities and Mexican-American students, both male and female, show small but consistent tendencies to perform better, relative to White groups, on three nontraditional measures: tests of inductive reasoning, spatial scanning, and associative memory. These measures showed somewhat less discrepancy between the groups than did tests of more traditional verbal and mathematical aptitudes.

The results seemed compatible with suggestions of the Commission on Tests to expand the number of measures included in traditional testing programs.

In this context John Carroll suggested an expansion of the number of component parts of the SAT to four or five reported scores. He suggested the separation of measured abilities into purely verbal and purely mathematical components. In discussing the separation of reasoning from verbal scores, he stated that "presumably" the verbal scores would be largely a function of the individual's education, and reading scores would be less influenced by these factors and be more predictive of success for individuals with educational disadvantages. There is ample evidence that these minority groups have not received a high quality education. Therefore, to attempt to judge such a student's reasoning capacity by examining his score on a mathematics test would seem to be unwise and perhaps unfair in effect.

One possible means for understanding more fully the total potential of the child lies in instruments that reveal his level of creative thinking. Richmond conducted a study to ascertain both the cognitive and creative output of White and Negro children in order to understand better the needs for educational experiences appropriate to their current level of functioning. In summary, the study indicated that measures of creativity do provide the educator with data on the child that are not obtained through the traditional measures of intelligence . . . it appears that a more comprehensive understanding of creativity, together with implementation of educational practices to enhance creative expression, can be useful in providing meaningful educational experiences to the disadvantaged child.

Okada compared growth in academic achievement of three ethnic groups using socioeconomic status, metropolitan and geographical locations in the United States. In rate of achievement at the various SES levels, generally the low SES students appear to taper off much more rapidly than median or high SES

students. Thus, SES levels appear to assume increasing importance in school achievement for all students.

Verbal ability shows the characteristic decremental learning curve over grades, while reading comprehension is almost linear. For all races, mathematics achievement appears to approach a plateau much earlier than other subjects, with the Negro students showing relatively little progress beyond the 9th grade. For all tests and races, the three SES levels show very similar growth patterns.

This piece of research showed that, so far as Negro students are concerned, with the exception of low SES students at grade 6, SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) students perform better than non-SMSA students in all subject matter areas.

Regarding the Negro students, the regional rankings were as follows:

1. West Non-SMSA
2. North SMSA
3. West SMSA
4. North Non-SMSA
5. South SMSA
6. South Non-SMSA

Thus, in terms of growth in academic achievement the non-SMSA (or rural) southern Black youth rated lowest. Research by Lee (1951) indicates that IQ test scores of southern Negro children improved after they moved north. Greater improvement was shown for children who moved there at a younger age and also for those children who had been there longer.

In the study of Millfield's children by Boughman and Dahlstrom (1961), a comparison of 542 Negro children and 464 white children was made. The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (1960 revision) was used. The combined mean S-B IQ for Whites was 97.8 with a standard deviation of 14.4, compared to a combined mean for Negroes of 84.6, with a standard deviation of 13.0. These scores compared with those of Kennedy et al. (1961) for Negro children in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee who had a mean score of 81.4, with a

standard deviation of 12.3. The Kennedy study included 1630 Negro boys and girls. Detailed comparisons of the Millfield study showed that both the White and Negro schools contained children whose ability levels were so limited that they were in need of special programs. Nine and seven tenths of the White children and 34.9 percent of Negro children had IQ scores below 80, or more than one standard deviation below the mean for the test.

Thurstone's primary Mental Abilities Test (1962 revision) was used by Boughman and Dahlstrom to further test Millfield's children. The PMA provides a total score comparable to the scores on the Stanford-Binet. The total quotients on the PMA were a 94.6 mean for Whites and 77.4 mean for Negroes. This compares to 97.8 and 84.6 reported above on the Stanford-Binet. Subtest results of the PMA for Negroes were as follows: (1) verbal meaning -- boys 80, girls 87; (2) perceptual speed -- boys 77, girls 82; (3) number facility -- boys 80, girls 85; (4) spatial relations -- boys 85, girls 82; (5) reasoning -- boys 80, girls 84.

In summary, with the exception of scores on spatial relations, Negro girls were superior in performance to Negro boys. While, in the case of White youth, the span of abilities were not as great, the boys were rather consistently superior in performance to the girls.

Boughman and Dahlstrom also tested the Millfield children on academic achievement. They concluded that in Millfield's sample only White girls consistently measured up to national norms, that the performance of White boys is comparatively strong up to 11 years of age, that the Negro boy is consistently poor, and that the Negro girls were below the national norm except in spelling. Much evidence suggests that the Negro girls are utilizing opportunities in the classroom much more effectively than are the Negro boys.

Green and Farquahar investigated the relationship of personality and cognitive factors with academic achievement (GPA) for eleventh-grade Negro and

White students of both sexes. The Negro sample consisted of 104 males and 129 females from two Detroit area high schools. The Caucasian sample consisted of 254 males and 261 females from nine high schools in eight Michigan cities.

They found no relationships between verbal aptitude and achievement (GPA) for Negro males despite the significant correlation between verbal aptitude and GPA for Negro females. They found that the Self-Concept-Word Rating List (WRL) is the best single prediction of achievement for the Negro sample. The authors hypothesized that the findings of this study must be qualified as pertaining particularly to Negroes in northern urban educational systems; that in a rural segregated educational system, verbal aptitude might be a significant predictor for Negro males because, in most segregated educational systems, those scoring high on aptitude tests would be given priority on the typically meager educational facilities.

Leona Tyler (1965) proposes that mental development at each stage is dependent not only upon the opportunities available at that stage but also upon the interaction between one's individual capacity and prior learning. She also discusses evidence relating the effects of inferior caste status to retarded mental development and suggests that "some developmental influence other than educational and socioeconomic handicaps" may consistently depress the mental development of Negro children.

In another study, Osborne dealt with the identification of sources of differential performance and discovery of mental growth patterns for White and Negro children through a longitudinal study (1954, 1956, and 1958). Longitudinal comparisons of arithmetic skills (reasoning and fundamentals), reading skills (vocabulary and comprehension), and mental maturity were made.

Results showed that reading and arithmetic achievement differences between White and Negro groups increased progressively from sixth to tenth grade with

the greatest differences found on noncultural test questions. For the Negro group, achievement and mental maturity growth became negatively accelerated or leveled off in the fourteen to sixteen age range. Both Negro and White scores of mental maturity in the lowest group showed an increase over the tested period, while the reverse was true of the high group in both races. The findings of this study seem to lessen the importance of so-called cultural bias of the test items and differential educational opportunities as explanations for racial differences in test performances.

McGurk (1956) takes a similar stand to that of Osborne but with more definitiveness. McGurk cites several studies made over a period of fifteen years (1935-1950) which indicate a difference in tested intelligence of Negroes and Whites. He then notes the improvement in social and economic conditions of the Negroes over the past two generations and concludes that these conditions showed a relatively greater amount of improvement than did the conditions for the Whites. After two generations of increases of social and economic conditions, the difference in tested intelligence, which he termed capacity for education, was greater than it had been previously.

In his article, McGurk concludes that there are psychological differences between Negroes and Whites, that these differences are not the result of differences in social and economic opportunities, and that these differences will not disappear as the social and economic opportunities of Negroes and Whites are equalized.

McCord provided a refutation of the position taken by McGurk in a two-part article. The refutation is contained in the first part of the article. The second part of the article is a report of an original study comparing the intelligence of Negroes and Whites, using a sample of northern, urban boys. In the first part of the article, McCord analyzes McGurk's article and the studies he used

to substantiate his claim. The inconsistencies are pointed out and additional studies, conducted by W. W. Clark, Otto Klienberg, and H. H. Long are cited whose findings are in contradiction to those of McGurk. The implication is that the study by McGurk, claiming to be an "authoritative review," omitted many studies contradictory to his point of view. The study reported in the article used 612 northern, urban boys attending integrated schools. The findings showed no significant differences in intelligence between Negro and White. The evidence drawn from a direct racial comparison and from an analysis of matched pairs contradicts the assertion of innate Negro inferiority.

The authors conclude that the question of the Negro-White intelligence controversy is continuing and presently unanswerable. However, measured intelligence is significantly related to socioeconomic status, parental education and general home atmosphere. At the present time no instrument can successfully measure innate intelligence and so the controversy continues. Note: In a later article published in the Harvard Review, McGurk answers the refutation cited above.

A study reported by Hunt (1947) is included in this paper because of the large amount of literature written using the data from military induction and classification tests of World War II. This study compares Negro and White groups of servicemen separated from the Navy due to neuropsychiatric reasons. A comparison is made of those who are mentally deficient in both groups. The findings show that there was a significantly higher incidence of mental deficiency among the sample group of Negoes than there was in the comparable group of Whites. The author concludes that since mental deficiency is not service induced, then the conclusion that different selection standards were employed for the two races must be made. Because of the difference in standards, further group comparisons are not accurate.

Shockley, in a more recent study (1966), found that only 7 percent of Negro scores on the Armed Forces mental tests exceeded or overlapped the White median score. However, the overlap in 1916 was 13 percent. He then poses the question of whether or not a higher birthrate of disadvantaged people since World War I could have occurred to produce a five-point drop in average Negro intelligence. Shockley calls for research to determine the truth or falsity of the all-genetic model he suggests as an explanation of his findings. According to Shockley, the uncertainty of the environment versus heredity argument inhibits the overcoming of unreasonable prejudice if the environment is a major cause; and if genetics is the main cause, then money spent on the War on Poverty and other programs aimed at improving the environment of Negroes may only be creating an even greater problem. That is, if ghetto birthrates are lowering the average Negro intelligence as a result of genetic inferiority, then providing economic aid would be like "providing economic aid to underdeveloped countries and at the same time disregarding the population explosion."

Jensen (1968, 1969, and 1970) reported racial and ethnic differences in patterns of learning abilities. He suggested the possibility that associative and cognitive abilities are distributed unequally in the population. Jensen concludes from his research that genetic variation is responsible for most of the individual differences variation in measured intelligence.

Taylor (1973) has written an essay dealing with statistical and methodological errors and fallacies in four recent publications on race and IQ,-- one of which is Jensen's. He cites errors which tend to make the 80 percent heritability figure too high, such as: (1) small sample size, (2) problems with generalizing 80 percent figure to Blacks since it was based on Whites, and (3) evidence that twin pairs used in the study who separated early in life were actually raised in similar social environments. He also discusses errors due to the

test situation, culture bias, and inability of the tests to tap all facets of intelligence. A major fallacy in Jensen's argument is his equating of SES with environment when it is actually only a small part of one's total environment.

Jencks (1972) also investigated inequality and its relation to genetics and the environment. He found (1) that educational opportunity is still distributed unequally in terms of access and utilization in the United States, (2) an unequal distribution of cognitive skills among social classes and Black and White children, (3) that both genetic and environmental inequality play a role in producing cognitive inequality, (4) no evidence that differences between schools contributed substantially to cognitive inequality, (5) that family background has more influence than IQ genotype on an individual's educational attainment, and (6) that the number of years a person spends in school has little effect upon later occupational and income attainment.

There are a number of reviews of Jenck's work which criticize him on various points, one of which is his assertion that modifying the educational institution will do little to eliminate occupational and income inequality. Studies have been done earlier with contradictory results and much of Jenck's data on compensatory education is derived from a period before there was much of it. Errors relating to Jenck's calculation of how much variation in measured IQ is attributable to genes (45 percent), environment (35 percent) and covariance between genes and environment (20 percent) are discussed by Taylor (1973).

Interest or Preferences

It is widely believed that an individual's vocational choice is predictive in terms of such constructs as affective self-concept, attitudes, and values. Consequently, it stands to reason that if measured attitudes are positively related to vocational choices, then attitudes expressed toward learning

activities by Black students should relate significantly to the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) Occupational Level (OL) scores. Secondly, one would expect the basic interest patterns expressed to be consistent with the students' curriculum choice.

Wright's study at Central Michigan University attempted to assess the relationship between (1) academic achievement interest and occupational level, (2) attitudes related to learning activities and academic achievement interest, (3) attitudes related to learning activities and occupational level scores, and (4) differences among vocational preferences and various curricula. He attempted to ascertain whether the occupational level scores and academic achievement scores of the SVIB for Black male counselees were significantly related to their expressed opinions of learning activities as measured by the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI). His second purpose was to analyze and compare the vocational preferences of male Black students as measured by the SVIB Basic Interest Scale.

Examination of the correlations indicate that academic achievement score of the SVIB relates significantly to three scales of the OPI. A liking for reflective thought, ideas, and abstraction strongly relates to college intellectual activities. Theoretical matters and problems, and interest in sculpture, music, literature, and drama were not significantly related to the scores of the SVIB scale, but were significantly related to the AACH score of $P < .01$ confidence level. An interpretation of this finding is that students who score high on the OPI and the SVIB AACH scale would be more interested in intellectual activities in a college setting.

As for differences among vocational preferences of students in various curricula, several considerations should be made. First, the students were enrolled in two-year programs for each curriculum except the School of

Business. For the business curriculum (B.S. degree) only three Black male students enrolled for the four year program. Humanities and social activities emerge as main interests of Black male students enrolled in general education. Nonscience was the third most important interest for general education students. Black male students enrolled in general education, as well as in technical and applied arts and the business curriculum, reject nature and agricultural activities. Also, business students' scores indicate a rejection pattern for science interest. Business and technical students were more interested in social activities, a finding which suggests that they may think more like individuals in the standardization group.

Boykin conducted a study in 1969 of 557 Negro twelfth-grade males in the Mississippi Delta. This study was concerned with interests, aptitude and aspirations.

The General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) was administered by the Mississippi Employment Security Commission. These youths were in the final semester of their senior high school year and were from predominantly or traditionally Black schools. The results of the study on the nine tests of the GATB are as follows: (1) intelligence or general scholastic aptitude -- 5 percent scored above the mean; (2) verbal aptitude -- 3 percent scored above the mean; (3) numerical aptitude -- 16 percent scored above the mean; (4) spatial aptitude -- 17 percent scored above the mean; (5) form perception -- 34 percent scored above the mean; (6) clerical perception -- 38 percent scored above the mean; (7) motor coordination -- 44 percent scored above the mean; (8) finger dexterity -- 24 percent scored above the mean, and (9) manual dexterity -- 43 percent scored above the mean.

In a study conducted by Carson (1960) it was predicted that with groups matched for age, grade placement, sex and level of verbal comprehension,

northern White children would be superior to northern Negro and southern Negro children on measures of verbal comprehension. The tests used for the study were the Full-Range Picture Vocabulary Test and the WISC Vocabulary. The findings supported the original predication and also indicated that there was a significant difference between verbal comprehension and verbal communication.

Summary

This review and synthesis of research pertaining to Black youth in the South has attempted to accomplish four objectives: (1) relate the historical and conceptual bases for ability testing to the status of Black youths' abilities, (2) explore some pros and cons of the concept of fixed intelligence or innate ability, (3) provide an impartial review of relevant literature, and (4) stimulate and encourage research among and about the abilities of Black youth.

It should be abundantly clear from the research reviewed that, generally, Black youth in the rural South consistently do more poorly than White youth in performance on standardized tests. There are charges that these tests are biased toward the White ethnic majority and middle class youth. However, while there is limited evidence to support such allegations, the bulk of evidence so far indicates no basis for a conclusion. Whether or not rural Black youth in the South differ from others in ability scores or even actual abilities is not too important in our judgment. What is important in our estimation is the fact that these youth demonstrate great variability in abilities, aptitudes and interests. This heterogeneity must be kept in mind so that we do not fall into the trap of developing stereotyped notions of rural Black youth. Such simplistic and erroneous thinking would lead to the development of general policies, programs, or routines that would be dysfunctional to many, if not

most of the young people making up this population. Our interpretation of the research reviewed is that the great heterogeneity present among all classes of youth is of much more significance than the mean differences demonstrated to exist among these categories.

Glossary of Testing Terms

1. Achievement Test -- a test designed to measure a person's knowledge, skills, and understanding, etc. in a given field taught in school.[1]

2. ACT -- American College Test.[1]

3. CEEB -- College Entrance Examination Boards -- a series of tests offered by a private testing organization to determine one's ability to do college work.[1]

4. CQT -- College Qualification Test.[2]

5. FFS -- Fee Free Speeded.[2]

6. FFU -- Fee Free Unspeeded.[2]

7. GATB -- General Aptitude Test Battery -- a specific set of tests designed to accomplish a closely related set of measurement objectives (Restricted to United States Employment Service).[2]

8. GPA -- Grade Point Average -- a measure of average scholastic success in all school subjects taken by a student during a certain term or semester, obtained by dividing gradepoints by hours of course work taken, when course marks are weighted.[1]

9. GRE -- Graduate Record Examination -- an examination, set by an outside agency, widely used by higher education institutions to determine, in part, the qualifications of a candidate for admission to graduate school.[1]

10. IQ -- Intelligence Quotient -- a measure for expressing level of mental development in relation to chronological age, i.e., $\frac{MA}{CA} \times 100$[1].

11. Interest Inventory -- a checklist used to determine the interests of children or adults.[1]

12. LSAT -- Law School Admission Test.[1]

13. PMA -- Primary Mental Abilities -- seven relatively independent factors of which Thurstone found general intelligence to be composed.[1]

14. RCS -- Regular Center Speeded.[2]

15. RCU -- Regular Center Unspeeded.[2]

16. SAT -- Scholastic Aptitude Test.[2]

17. SAT-M -- Scholastic Aptitude Test - Mathematical.

18. SAT-V -- Scholastic Aptitude Test - Verbal.[2]

19. SES -- Socioeconomic Status.[2]

20. SMSA -- Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.[2]

21. S-B -- Stanford-Binet (Test).[1]

22. SVIB -- Strong Vocational Interest Blank.[2]

23. Validity -- the extent to which a test fulfills the purpose for which it is used.[1]

24. WRL -- Word Rating List.[2]

*25. Reliability -- the accuracy with which a measuring device measures something.[1]

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[1]Good, Carter V., Dictionary of Education, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1973, 681 pp.

[2]Various studies cited at end of this paper.

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ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF RURAL BLACK YOUTH IN THE SOUTH

Introduction and Objectives

(By William P. Kuvlesky)

Until the mid-sixties little research had been done by social scientists on orientations toward future status attainment of Black youth in the South (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1968). Consequently, educators and action agency staff concerned with the problems of low-income youth in the South had little firm scientific data to base their programs and action strategies upon. It was generally assumed that Black youth and rural youth had low-level status aspirations (i.e., occupational and educational desires) as the "War on Poverty" began during this period. Fortunately, since the mid-sixties a host of researchers have accumulated a vast quantity of data on low-income youth, including rural youth in the South (Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970; Cosby, et al., 1973). As of yet, however, much of this research has been neither synthesized nor disseminated widely; in fact, much of the more recent work still remains unpublished. The purpose of this report is to attempt a brief synthetic overview of the relevant empirical research findings pertaining to the subjective life ends of rural, Black southern youth. In this section we will try to provide answers to the following questions often posed by educators and youth in the rural South:

1. "Don't youth become more realistic about their occupational and educational goals and expectations as they grow older?"
2. "What kind of jobs and what types of educational programs do kids really want?"
3. "Are Black youths' aspirations rising and are their expectations for social mobility becoming more unrealistic over time?"

And, to challenge certain unfounded assertions such as these:

1. "The reasons Black (or rural) kids can't get ahead is that all they think about is getting married and raising a family or going hunting or fishing."

2. "Low income (or Black or rural) youth have little ambition -- they don't want much and don't expect much."

The evidence to answer these questions and to evaluate these assertions, at least tentatively, does exist for rural Black youth living in the South.

This section of the report will be organized in several parts around certain foci of research on the status projections of rural Black youth. A brief outline follows:

A. Educational Status Projections

B. Occupational Status Projections

C. Historical Change in Aspirations and Expectations for Social Mobility

In Parts A and B, research findings providing an understanding of the types of education and jobs that rural Black youth are oriented to will be presented. Katheryn Dietrich, a Research Associate in the Rural Sociology Department of Texas A&M University, was invited to provide the synthesis on educational status projections. Dr. Arthur Cosby and William Falk of the Rural Sociology Department of Texas A&M University were invited to synthesize the very recent research on developmental dynamics of occupational and educational status projections. In Part C, we will attempt to overview the very recent and still unpublished findings on historical change in status aspirations and expectations of Black youth residing in the nonmetropolitan areas of the South, produced from the efforts of cooperative work of several rural sociologists in the region.

Much of the research existing on this subject only exists because of the high level of commitment of a few rural sociology colleagues in the region who were collaborators in the USDA-CSRS S-61 and S-81 projects mentioned earlier. Because the data and findings produced by these researchers provided much of

the potential utility justifying the development of this section of the report, they deserve prominent mention as collaborators in this report. They are as follows:

John Dunkelberger	- Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station, Auburn University
V. A. Boyd	- South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Clemson University
John Kelley and Melvin Knapp	- Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Georgia
George Ohlendorf	- Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Louisiana State University
Arthur Cosby and Katheryn Dietrich	- Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A&M University

Recognition should also be given to the directors of the State Agricultural Experiment Stations mentioned above, whose vision and willingness to support a single research thrust for over eight years made the region-wide research possible.

Educational Goals of Black Youth in the Rural South

(By Katheryn Thomas Dietrich)

Educational goals have been viewed by sociologists as important keys to the understanding of youths' achievement motivation and to their awareness of the legitimate means by which socioeconomic mobility can be achieved. In theory, at least, educational goals have been causally associated with the underpresentation of certain racial and ethnic minority groups in America's middle and upper socioeconomic classes. Such theory in regard to Blacks, however, has been vehemently disputed by Black scholars, who argue that education is valued exceptionally high in the Black community. On the other hand, the low educational attainment of Black adults, Black youths' underachievement in school, and their high dropout rates would seem to belie such claims.

Theory

This controversy and its implications regarding the benefits to be derived from improving Blacks' educational opportunities have prompted considerable scientific attention. Theories related to the diffusion of high educational goals to Blacks and to their lower classes are prolific. They run the gamut of a continuum stressing at one extreme that Blacks are culturally distinct from middle-class, Anglo America, being defined by values, lifestyles, and goals that are prohibitive to socioeconomic mobility (Hyman, 1953; Mizruchi, 1964; Moyhihan, 1965), to the polar position that achievement values and high goals have been diffused to at least a substantially large proportion -- if not the majority or entirety -- of these people (Merton, 1957). The latter argument concludes that these achievement values and high goals are not manifested to the same extent in behavior because of structural barriers preventing goal implementation. Theories between these extreme positions stress, to varying degrees, the role of situational factors as determinants of value, goal, and behavioral differences (Yinger, 1960; Rodman, 1963; Turner, 1964).

Conceptualization of Goals

Too often, goals seem to be equated with motivation, although they are only one dimension of it. High goal definition, however, seems to be a necessary antecedent to high achievement.

Goal definition, itself, also appears to be a multidimensional construct. Goals are often conceptualized as having two dimensions (Kuvlesky, 1966): (1) an individual's "ideal goal" -- generally called "aspiration" -- which refers to what an individual would do or be if there were no barriers to what he could achieve; (2) the individual's estimate of what he will realistically achieve -- referred to as "expectation," "plan," or "realistic goal." The

latter taps the individual's perception of the impact environmental barriers will have on his eventual goal-related attainment.

Studies of Aspirations and Expectations

Empirical research on the educational goals of nonmetropolitan southern Black youth has been sufficiently representative of different areas of the South and consistent enough in results to suggest some generalizations applicable, with certain restrictions, to these youth. Such generalizations must be restricted to high school youth who live in predominantly low-income counties or communities. Very little information exists about school dropouts, youth of elementary school age or, due to the negative socioeconomic skewness of the southern Black population, middle-class Black youth who reside in predominantly middle-class neighborhoods.

Extant evidence demonstrates that the educational aspirations and expectations of rural, southern Black youth are quite high compared to the educational background of their parents, to census reports of educational attainment among Black of the rural South, and to the socioeconomic mobility that the attainment of such goals is likely to produce. The overwhelming majority of these youth appear to desire and expect to complete high school plus some kind of formal educational training beyond high school (Thomas, 1970; Moore, et al., 1964; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Drabick, 1965; Hernandez and Picou, 1969; Wingrove and Kelly, 1971). Unrealistically, substantially large proportions of these youth opt for a college education. Results of a survey of more than 1500 Southern nonmetropolitan Black youth show that the majority of the youth aspired to graduate from college (Thomas, 1970). Moreover, college expectations, or plans, are reported for almost half of several samples of Black youth from varying parts of the nonmetropolitan South (Thomas, 1970;

Hernandez and Picou, 1969; Middleton and Grigg, 1959). Of the Black youth studied who did not express such lofty goals, almost all stated desires and expectations to complete a vocational training program or junior college after high school (Thomas, 1970; Hernandez and Picou, 1969).

Sex Differences

Aspirations to graduate from high school, to complete formal educational training beyond high school, and to complete college have been found to characterize similarly large proportions of Black boys and Black girls in the non-metropolitan South (Thomas, 1970; Hernandez and Picou, 1969; Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Moore, et al., 1964). While minor sex differences have been observed, the nature of these observations seem to be inconsistent. For example, Middleton and Grigg (1959) and Youmans, et al. (1969), in studies of Florida youth, reported proportionately more Black females than Black males planned on attending college. Conversely, Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky (1968) reported substantially larger proportions of Black boys than girls of a Texas sample desired and expected to graduate from college. While noting negligible sex differences in college aspirations, Hernandez and Picou (1969) reported from a Louisiana sample that Black females were more likely to aspire to complete post-graduate college work and less likely to aspire just to finish high school than Black males. Similar to the latter findings, Wingrove and Kelly (1971) observed in a Georgia study that proportionately more Black females than males expected to complete some kind of education beyond high school.

Socioeconomic Differences

Aspirations and expectations for a high school education plus formal

educational training beyond high school also seem to transcend socioeconomic disparities among nonmetropolitan southern Black youth. There is evidence suggesting that the lower the socioeconomic status of the Black youth's family of procreation, the more likely the youth is to choose vocational training, rather than college, after high school (Thomas, 1970). Significant, nevertheless, is the fact that in the predominantly low-income southern regional sample in which this association was observed, as many as a third of the large number of youth in the lowest socioeconomic grouping (i.e., the youths' fathers were unskilled or semiskilled laborers) expressed college aspirations and expectations.

Rural-Urban Differences

Extant evidence also suggests that, for southern Black youth, urban residence is associated with higher educational expectations than rural residence (Picou, et al., 1972; Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Cramer, et al., 1966). Somewhat overshadowing these differences, however, are the large proportions of Black boys and girls who express high educational expectations regardless of the rural-urban nature of their residence background (Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Moore, et al., 1964).

Other Factors Influencing Educational Goals

In recent years, educational goal research has focused on the effects of salient factors on goal development and the relationships of these factors to each other. However, models that have been developed so far appear more relevant to White youth and provide only weak explanations of the variation that has been observed in the educational aspirations and expectations of Black youth (Picou, et al., 1972).

In a model dealing with socioeconomic status, where the factors of "significant others," academic achievement orientation, and academic performance were considered, academic performance manifested the largest net effects (but still weak effects) on the educational goals of a sample of rural Louisiana Black youth (Picou, et al., 1972).

Also recently explored was the effect of school integration on the educational aspirations and expectations of a sample of rural, Black Texas youth. All of the youth were contacted in segregated high schools when they were sophomores, but prior to a recontact in their senior year, about half of the schools were integrated. Subsequent integration or remaining segregation of the high school attended was not found to significantly influence the educational aspirations or expectations that the Black youth evidenced as high school seniors or four years after leaving high school (Falk, et al., 1973).

Developmental Change in Educational Goals

Recent attention has also been given to how educational aspirations and expectations of rural Black youth change as the youth grow older. Comparing students in grades six through twelve of a rural Georgia school, Wingrove and Kelly (1971) observed that the Black youth experienced a slight drop in educational expectations in the ninth grade ("which represents the age of intending dropouts"), but that educational expectations went up in the tenth grade and remained fairly stable throughout high school. However, there is evidence suggesting that such estimates of goal stability may be misleading if they are not obtained by questioning the same youth at different points of time in their development. Thomas and Jacob (1970) found in a longitudinal panel study of Black rural Texas males that about half of the boys changed their educational aspirations and expectations substantially between their sophomore and senior

years of high school. Because of counteracting changes (i.e., one person's negative change was countered by another's positive change), much of the individual change was obscured in aggregate comparisons. Nevertheless, downward shifts were more evident than upward shifts, especially in educational expectations.[1]

More recently, this same Texas panel was questioned a third time, four years after high school. Cosby and Ohlendorf (1973) report that the educational aspirations and expectations of the pooled panel of Black and White boys changed less during the post-high school period than they did during high school. Further analysis looking at the Black youth independently of White youth and at females as well as males is needed.

Priority Granted Educational Goals

For the most part, researchers have ignored dimensions of goal orientation other than goal definition. An exception is research conducted by Kuvlesky (1966) and his colleagues, who have employed an instrument requesting youth to rank various specified status goals according to the youth's perception of their importance to him. Results indicate that nonmetropolitan southern Black youth generally rank educational goals first or second to goals of occupation, marriage and family, income, residence, material possessions, or free time (Thomas, 1970; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968).

Cosby and Ohlendorf (1973) report that for their panel of Texas Blacks and Whites, occupational aspirations and expectations appeared to attain causal priority over educational aspirations and expectations, respectively, when the

[1] Findings similar to those of the Texas study were reported from a large representative survey of South Carolina high school sophomores; however, the Black youth of nonmetropolitan and metropolitan residence were not analyzed separately.

individuals entered early adulthood. Again, however, there is a need to analyze Blacks apart from Whites.

Racial Differences

Not only are educational goals of southern nonmetropolitan Black youth defined high and ranked high, the bulk of evidence suggests that educational goal definitions and rankings are generally as high or higher for Black as for White youth (Thomas, 1970; Hernandez and Picou, 1969; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Drabick, 1965). With few exceptions, such findings have been obtained regardless of whether educational aspirations or expectations were tapped and regardless of the sex, residence, or socioeconomic status of the respondents. Extant evidence suggests that among lower-class youth, Blacks have conspicuously higher educational aspirations and expectations than Whites (Thomas, 1970).

Evidence that White youths' educational aspirations and expectations vary more by socioeconomic status than Black youths' (Thomas, 1970; Cramer, et al., 1965) and findings from further research on factors affecting educational goal development of Blacks and Whites (Carter, et al., 1972; Picou, et al., 1972) suggest that Black youths' educational aspirations and expectations are less influenced by social constraints than those of White youth.

Summary

The concensus of research findings suggests the following generalizations are applicable to Black high school youth residing in the nonmetropolitan South:

1. The great bulk of the youth aspire and expect to graduate from high school and to complete vocational training or college.

2. Almost half aspire and expect to complete college.

3. For the most part, such high educational aspirations and expectations transcend sex, socioeconomic and residence differences.

4. The bulk of the youth rank educational goals high relative to other goals.

5. Generally, these youth define and rank their educational goals as high as or higher than White youth.

6. Among the lower classes, the educational aspirations and expectations of the Black youth are generally higher than those of the White youth. Additional evidence, based upon smaller scales, suggests: (1) school integration or segregation has little effect on the Black youths' educational aspirations or expectations; (2) educational aspirations and expectations are unstable during the high school years for many of the youth; and (3) their educational goal development is only weakly related to social constraints. Further research is needed to clarify the nature of sex differences and the factors which are salient to the educational goal development of these youth.

Conclusions

Extant evidence suggests that the definition and ranking of educational goals will not be factors causally related to disproportionate representation of southern rural Blacks in America's lowest socioeconomic ranks. The high goals expressed by southern rural Black youth attest to the facts that these youth are cognizant of the import of educational attainment for subsequent social and economic mobility and/or that they value educational achievement highly for its own sake.

However, for many of these youth, their aspirations and expectations are unrealistically high. Most of the youth aspiring and even expecting to

attend college have neither the financial resources nor the intellectual background to permit pursuit of such goals.

An obvious policy implication is that such opportunities should be increased. Undoubtedly, this would be a better alternative than lowering the goals of these youth. However, their projection of fantasy goals into late adolescence and early adulthood indicates a lack of maturity that could be quite detrimental to the youth by preventing efforts to achieve what is within their reach.

In addition, the youths' expression of high goals does not necessarily mean that the youth will be motivated to take advantage of improved opportunities. The fact that such goals often do not seem to be reflected in learning efforts suggest that other aspects of motivation, such as achievement training and the psychological need to achieve, may be critical keys to understanding and helping to ameliorate educational achievement discrepancies in our society. The dearth of study on these aspects of the motivation of southern rural Black youth demonstrates a need for researchers to now turn their attention in this direction.

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The Dynamics of Occupational Projections: Observations on The Changing Orientations of Nonmetropolitan Black Youth in the South

(by Arthur G. Cosby and William W. Falk)

Introduction

In contemporary United States society, youth orient themselves toward several interrelated social statuses as potential objects of future attainment. Most evident among these are future orientations or status projections toward educational and occupational statuses. There is a wealth of research literature based primarily on cross-sectional studies which indicates the nature of such attitudes at one point in time. For an extensive listing of such reports see bibliographies by Kuvlesky and Reynolds (1970). More recently, researchers have begun to empirically assess the dynamics of temporal change in attitudes during the adolescent and early adult years. Although the existing information on dynamics is admittedly limited, and especially sketchy for nonmetropolitan Blacks, we have chosen to overview those few studies which have utilized panel data and hence have the capacity to consider the dynamic changing aspect of Black, nonmetropolitan youths' attitudes toward critical status areas.

Occupational Projections (Aggregate Change)

Researchers have consistently found that large proportions of Black adolescents, including those in the nonmetropolitan South, tend to orient themselves toward a range of occupations at the upper end of the status spectrum. That is, large numbers (often in excess of 50 percent) are found to have future orientations in the range that include professional, technical and glamour occupations -- a range of occupations that corresponds neither to the available opportunities

nor to the actual occupations that most of these youths are likely to attain as adults. This tendency toward high level orientations appears to be pervasive even among disadvantaged youth. For example, in a study of almost 6,000 Deep South sophomores (Cosby, 1970), 56 percent of rural Black youths from low socioeconomic, broken homes were found to maintain high levels of occupational orientations.

Existing panel studies indicate not only that rural Black youth develop high level occupational projections early, at least by the sophomore year of high school, but also that the aggregate level of orientation remains high during the late adolescent and early adult years. Data from a large sample of South Carolina youth (Boyd, 1970) revealed little difference in the distribution of occupational aspirations at the sophomore and senior years of high school for both male and female Black youth. In a similar study of rural youth in East Texas (Cosby, et al., 1973), equivalent high level aspirations were also found between the sophomore and senior years and again four years later in a post-high school followup.

When occupational projections are differentiated into aspirational (desired choices) and expectational (choices reflecting anticipated attainment) dimensions, there appear to be divergent patterns over time in the two types of projections. Based on the limited information available, whereas occupational aspirations remain high and stable in the aggregate during the adolescent and early adult years, occupational expectations have been found to decrease. The resulting pattern is one of an increasing gap over time between aggregate levels of aspirations and expectations. One study (Cosby, et al, 1973) reports stable occupational aspirations for rural Black males and decreasing expectation levels over a six year span.

Occupational Projections (Individual Change)

In contrast to the observed regular patterns in aggregate dynamics, the degree of individual change has been found to be considerable. It appears that the probability of rural Blacks changing their occupational projections relatively late in their development is quite high. Dietrich and Jacobs (1970) found in their sample of rural Black males that 59 percent had changed their levels of aspirations and 68 percent their level of expectations within a two-year span between the sophomore and senior years in high school. Interestingly, the fluctuation was in both directions. There were strong trends for both upward and downward changes in the level of projections.

The dynamic nature of projections continues into the post-high school period; however, the degree of change appears to be less. Cosby et al. (1973) report that the stability coefficients for both occupational aspirations and expectations were found to be moderate in both pre- and post-high school periods and that the degree of stability tended to increase with maturation.

Perception of Blockage to Attainment

Closely associated with the formation of occupational projections is the perception of influences that hinder the attainment of such goals. Cosby and Picou (1972), in a study of Black high school seniors in Louisiana, reported the degree to which rural youth perceive educational factors, job opportunities, and individual capacities which limit the attainment of goals. Large numbers of rural Blacks felt that educational limitation would have, at least, some negative consequences for occupational attainment. For example, 82 percent of the males and 73 percent of the females saw "not enough money to go to technical school or college" as having some negative effect on their attainment. Smaller,

yet substantial proportions perceived "schools attended" and "lack of technical schools or colleges nearby" as also having a negative effect. Lack of job opportunities was perceived to be of similar magnitude as educational influence in limiting the students. The youths tended to rate such personal capacity factors as "not being smart enough" low, relative to educational and job constraints.

In this same study (Cosby and Picou, 1972), the perception of goal blockage was traced in a panel of rural Texas Black youth -- again a sophomore to senior comparison. The objective of the study was to determine if Black youth became more aware of blockage factors as they approached the post-high period when most would enter the labor force. The overall tendency was for the percentage of youth perceiving the various limiting factors to decrease slightly by the senior year. This finding was in contradiction to the concept of increasing realism of choice. Subsequent analysis of perception of goal blockage in a six-year panel of nonmetropolitan Black females in the Deep South (Cosby, et al., 1974) has revealed a similar pattern.

Educational Projections

Recent studies (Boyd, 1970; Boyd and Lytle, 1970; Falk and Cosby, 1973; and Cosby, et al., 1974) have reported high levels of educational projections for southern rural Blacks comparable to the already discussed high level of occupational projections. Boyd (1970), in his study of South Carolina youth, found only minor shifts in the aggregate distribution of educational aspirations and expectations between the sophomore and senior years in high school. The number of youths aspiring to at least the completion of four years of college was about 53 percent in the sophomore year and had only decreased to 50 percent by the senior year. Although of a lower level of orientation, similar results were obtained for educational expectations -- a change from 41 percent to 35

percent. A notable change in the type of educational orientations was observed, however. The percentages of students both aspiring and expecting vocational scholastic training increased during this period.

Although reporting means rather than percentage distributions, Falk and Cosby (1975) have found a similar pattern of change in rural schools for segregated and desegregated Black youth in Texas. In this study, changes in mean levels of educational projections before desegregation (sophomore year - 1966), shortly after (senior year - 1968) and in the long run (post-high school - 1972) were found to be comparable for both segregated and desegregated youth. The implication of this study is that desegregation, at least initial desegregation, has no discernable effect on the level of educationa projections.

Racial Differences in Projection Dynamics

White youth differ from Black youth in the formation of their occupational projections in several respects. First, White youth tend to maintain their high level expectations for a longer period in their development. Cosby, et al., (1973) report that the gap between aspirations and expectations for Whites remained roughly constant over a six year period, whereas Blacks experienced a gradually increasing gap between the two dimensions. Second, Black youth seem to be slightly more likely to fluctuate in their orientations over time than White youth. Third, Black youth tend to be more likely to perceive factors impeding the attainment of their goals than White youth (Cosby and Picou, 1972 and Cosby, et al., 1974).

Although there are discernable differences in the levels of occupational projections between Black and White youth, the most striking aspect of the phenomena is the extent of similarities between the two groups. That is, the amount of variability within each group far exceeds differences between groups.

Both Black and White youth tend to orient themselves toward high level occupational statuses and both demonstrate a remarkable capacity to maintain (in the aggregate) these high level projections throughout the late adolescent and early adult years. Both groups tend to perceive the same factors as limiting their occupational chances, although the importance associated with these factors varies between the two groups. In short, our interpretation of existing data leads us to emphasize similarities rather than racial differences.

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Historical Change in Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Black Youth in the South

(by William P. Kuvlesky, John Dunkelberger, V. A. Boyd, Melvin Knapp, and George Ohlendorf)

The Problem

Are the values, attitudes, and aspirations of American youth changing over time? Several social theorists and social scientists think so. Charles Reich in his controversial book, The Greening of America (1970), draws a picture of dramatic shifts in value orientations of youth in our society. Several years ago, I reached the conclusion that the available research evidence pertaining to rural youth did not indicate such change (Kuvlesky, 1973). More recently, Daniel Yankelovich (1974) produced a set of findings from poll data indicating apparent recent general shifts in attitudes and values of American youth, which were not inconsistent with Reich's speculations. Still, we do not know if these apparent changes are impacting on rural Black youth in the South. Also, we do not know if these apparent broad changes in general values and social orientations produce change in youths' orientations toward status attainment. Our purpose is to explore these questions within the context of research data available at this time on rural Black youth in the South.

For some years social scientists have asserted that mobility aspirations and expectations have been generally rising among disadvantaged youth (Hughes, 1965:1135; Broom and Glenn, 1965:182-183; Dyckman, 1966:802-803). Yet, little hard data can be found to provide evidence for this presumed tendency (Dowdell, 1973). In fact, the author of this effort scheduled a panel discussion at the 1970 Rural Sociological Society meetings aimed at bringing to light any empirical findings that might exist to test this frequent assertion. Except for some

limited findings from Walter Slocum (1968) indicating that the educational aspirations of farm-reared youth in the state of Washington had risen over the last decade, nothing was turned up at this session.

It was the revealed lack of a solid empirical basis for the commonly accepted "truth" -- mobility aspirations of disadvantaged youth are rising -- that provided the stimulus for the creation of an agreement among several rural sociologists in the South to explore this proposition, taking advantage of a baseline study they cooperated on earlier in 1966 and 1967. These researchers replicated, as exactly as possible, the operations of the earlier study in a resurvey of the same areas six years after the original one was completed. Data now exists from this study for determining the nature of historical change in the status projections, values, and life orientations among a variety of types of youth across the South. However, as of yet this data has not been reported in print. In this section of this report it is our intent to explore through this longitudinal (1966-1972) data, base changes that are taking place in southern rural Black youths' aspirations and expectations for educational status attainment.

If there is any validity to Reich's (1970) "greening of America" thesis, one would expect to see youth at least lowering their valuation of achieved status goals relative to other life ends and also perhaps the level of education they aspire to. The results of this kind of general shift in societal values would impact across the board on all kinds of youth. On the other hand, the "liberation" movements now in existence ("Women's Lib, "Black Power," "La Raza," and etc.) should produce a converse pattern of change -- raising status projections -- for selected groupings of the population if they are impacting generally, while leaving other groupings untouched (White, middle-class, males). Obviously, depending on what frame of reference one chooses to use, rationales

could be developed for predicting that youths' status projections are rising or falling over time.

In all probability, none of these broad movements are impacting on all relevant youth in equal measure and probably are all impacting on some youth in any broad population grouping to some extent. The conclusion I have reached from scant extant research is that most rural youth and most minority youth have experienced an increase in level of aspiration over the last several decades and at present desire the same kind of "good life" as that desired by most middle-class youth -- college education, professional or technical jobs, etc. (Kuvlesky, 1973).

Data and Methods

Identical surveys of high school students in five southern states -- Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Texas -- completed in 1966 and 1972 in the same study areas, provide the data base for the findings to be reported here.[1] Three states studied high school sophomores -- Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas -- at both times, and seniors were studied in Alabama and Louisiana. All states mentioned above, except South Carolina, selected similar study areas for investigation; nonmetropolitan, low-income counties that were predominantly rural and characterized by having a proportionately large Black population. The South Carolina findings will not be used in this comparison because the available data is based on a sample including both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan residents.[2] Data reported from the other four states will be compared to

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[1] For a detailed analysis of comparability see Stanley, Lever and Kuvlesky (1975).

[2] For a description of the South Carolina study and findings see Boyd (1974).

determine the general patterns of change taking place in the South in reference to rural Black youth's educational goals and expectations.[3]

We were extremely careful to try to replicate as exactly as possible our 1966 operations in the 1972 contact. At both time periods all sophomores or seniors in school the day of the interview were included in a group administration of the questionnaire. In both surveys about 90 percent of the sophomores enrolled in the schools were interviewed. Identical questionnaires were used in exactly the same way for both contacts.

Findings and Conclusions

Educational Aspirations. A rather marked downward change in level of educational aspirations generally took place between 1966 and 1972 for Black teenagers in all states regardless of age (Table 1). This pattern was more pronounced for boys than girls. Black males in every state, regardless of class, less often desired a college education in 1972 as compared with 1966 and more often desired either high school plus vocational training or junior college experience, or in Texas and Louisiana in particular, more often desired "low" levels of educational attainment. Among Black females studied, the Texas and Louisiana subjects demonstrated patterns similar but less marked patterns of change as those described above (Table 1). However, sophomore girls in Georgia and senior girls in Alabama, while still indicating a slight downward shift in educational aspirations on the whole, demonstrated a different pattern of change: less often desiring the intermediate level (vocational or junior college) and more often desiring either to drop out of school or terminate with high school graduation.

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[3]Data for these interstate comparisons came from several unpublished papers -- Stuart and Dunkelberger (1974), Kuvlesky (1974), and Ohlendorf (1974). Data on Georgia youth were provided in tabular form by Melvin Knapp.

Table 1. A Summary Comparison of Historical Change in Levels of Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Southern Nonmetropolitan Black Teen-Agers by Sex, Grade, and State.

	Male				Female			
	Sophomores		Seniors		Sophomores		Seniors	
	Texas	Georgia	Alabama	Louisiana	Texas	Georgia	Alabama	Louisiana
	% Change from 1966 to 1972							
A. Aspiration Level								
Low[1/]	+10	+ 5	+ 1	+ 8	+ 3	+ 5	+ 7	+ 9
Interm.[2/]	+20	+ 5	+11	+ 1	+15	- 7	- 9	- 1
High[3/]	-30	-10	-12	- 9	-19	+ 2	+ 1	- 7
B. Expectation Level								
Low[1/]	+13	+ 7	+25	- 4	0	+ 7	- 4	+ 2
Interm.[2/]	+18	+ 7	-32	+ 2	+19	- 6	+ 5	+ 3
High[3/]	-31	-14	+ 7	+ 1	-20	+ 1	0	- 5

1/ Made up of "Quit H.S." and "H.S. Grad." categories.

2/ Consists of "H.S. + Technical School" and "Jr. College" categories.

3/ Consists of "College Grad (4 Yrs.)" and "Grad Study" categories.

More detailed findings on the types of educational aspirations of these youth indicate two different patterns of more specific change -- one for sophomores and another for seniors (Table 2). With the exception of Black females in Georgia, sophomores tended to shift away from aspirations for college toward other, lower educational levels. Texas Black sophomores much more often desired technical training after high school graduation in 1972 than in 1966. While seniors markedly decreased in desire for graduate studies, some of this change showed up in slight increases in frequency of desire for a four year college degree. Still, there was a net loss in those desiring a college education, but the magnitude of change in this regard was much less than for Black sophomores. Seniors also differed, in general, from sophomores in demonstrating a declining interest in junior college education over the six year study period. Black senior girls from Alabama were an exception in this regard -- they showed a marked decline in interest in post high school technical training, but an increased interest (11%) in junior college.

Educational Expectations. Expectations indicate what the subject really anticipated in terms of lifetime educational attainment, and reflect, to a greater extent than aspirations, a conditioning of desire and interests by a realistic evaluation of chances for attainment. The findings from this study indicate variation by state in terms of whether or not historical change in expectations followed the same patterns observed for aspirations or not (Table 1). For Texas and Georgia sophomores, regardless of sex, the changes in educational expectations observed between 1966 and 1972 closely paralleled those already reported for aspiration shifts. Such was not the case for seniors in Alabama and Louisiana. Educational expectations of senior Black females changed very little and in inconsistent patterns across the two states involved, while aspirations were noted to have shifted consistently downward. Similarly, for senior

Table 2. Historical Change in the Educational Aspirations of Southern Nonmetropolitan Black Teen-Age Boys and Girls By Grade and State, 1966-1972.

	Sophomores				Seniors			
	Texas		Georgia		Alabama		Louisiana	
	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966
	%							
A. Boys								
Aspirations								
Quit H.S.	5	0	7	+1	0	0	} 19	} +8
H.S. Grad	11	+10	9	+4	13	+ 1		
H.S. + Tech.	43	+20	37	+4	52	+23	25	+6
Jr. College	8	0	7	+1	0	-12	3	-5
College (4 yrs.)	17	- 8	26	-4	35	+ 7	28	+5
Grad Study	17	-22	14	-6	4	-19	26	-14
B. Girls								
Aspirations								
Quit H.S.	2	+ 1	6	+4	5	+ 5	} 16	} +9
H.S. Grad	4	+ 2	6	+1	5	+ 2		
H.S. + Tech.	63	+17	43	-11	37	-20	26	+7
Jr. College	1	- 2	4	+4	14	+11	0	-8
College (4 yrs.)	18	- 4	19	+4	32	+ 7	27	+1
Grad Study	12	-15	22	-2	9	- 6	31	-8

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Black males, Louisiana subjects demonstrated little change in the nature of their expectations. Senior boys from Alabama, on the other hand, demonstrated an even more dramatic downward shift in expectations between 1966 and 1972 than they did for aspirations.

A more detailed set of findings on changes in types of educational expectations reveals more change of a specific nature going on than was shown in the educational "level" analysis described above (Table 3). What is more, these specific patterns closely parallel those observed for aspirations.

Change in Projections for Other Types of Status Attainment

A very recent report of historical change in the projected status frames of reference of rural youth in East Texas indicates that patterned, historical changes (1966-1972) in educational aspirations and expectations are accompanied by patterned changes in other types of projected attainments (Kuvlesky and Stanley, 1976). A summary of general findings from this study (p. 43) indicates that the rural Black youth studied experienced a lowering of occupational expectations, a decline in orientation toward projected urban residence, a projection to marry earlier and to have a smaller family over the period of the study (1966-1972). It was also found that the rural Black youth studied experienced a marked decrease in certainty about their expected educational attainments and a somewhat lower intensity of desire for their educational goals. Preliminary findings from studies of comparable youth in Georgia and South Carolina indicate that these correlated patterns of historical change in the anticipatory frames of status reference of rural Black youth may be general.

Table 3. Historical Change in the Educational Expectations of Southern Nonmetropolitan Black Teen-Age Boys and Girls by Grade and State, 1966-1972.

	Sophomores				Seniors			
	Texas		Georgia		Alabama		Louisiana	
	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966	1972	Change in % Since 1966
				-%				
A. Boys								
Expectations								
Quit H.S.	5	- 1	4	- 4	12	+12	} 19	} -4
H.S. Grad	15	+14	16	+11	29	+13		
H.S. + Tech.	38	+15	44	+ 6	25	-19	32	+ 5
Jr. College	11	+ 3	7	+ 1	4	-13	2	- 3
College (4 yrs.)	20	-20	19	-10	29	+13	41	+12
Grad. Study	11	-11	10	- 4	0	- 6	6	-11
B. Girls								
Expectations								
Quit H.S.	5	0	6	+ 4	0	- 2	—	—
H.S. Grad	4	0	7	+ 3	0	- 2	12	+2
H.S. + Tech.	62	+19	48	- 7	46	-13	41	+12
Jr. College	2	0	3	+ 1	23	+18	3	- 9
College (4 yrs.)	17	- 3	19	+ 2	32	+ 7	29	+ 8
Grad. Study	10	-17	17	+ 3	0	- 7	15	-13

Summary of Findings

There is a general pattern of historical change observable that cuts across the southern states involved in the study: the educational aspirations and expectations of rural Black youth were somewhat lower in 1972 than they were earlier. The amount of change observed was generally slightly greater for boys than girls, and for younger teenagers as compared with older ones. The amount of change and the specific qualitative patterns of change varied considerably from one state to another. Still, considering the short historical periods involved -- six years for the sophomores and four years for the seniors -- it seems safe to propose that rural Black youth in the South are in the process of altering their orientations toward educational status attainment and that this process is producing lower level aspirations and expectations.

Additional data from a recent Texas study indicates that the general patterns of change in educational projections described above may be accompanied by significant changes in orientations toward occupational attainment (lower), place of residence (less urban), marriage (earlier) and procreation (less). This Texas study also found that Black youth experienced a dramatic decrease in certainty about attainment of their status expectations, while their White counterparts demonstrated a converse trend. It was also observed that valuation of educational goals declined and valuation of family-procreation goals increased, relative to other life ends,over the six-year study period; this may indicate a change taking place in general values.

In general, these findings indicate that rural Black youth in the South are lowering their educational aspirations and expectations; however, their status projections remain high relative to the educational level of their parents and the probability of actual attainment. The historical changes noted could reflect a basic change in value orientations and life orientations among some

youth. We suspect this is the case and that the magnitude of change in this regard may even increase in the future. Only future monitoring of the historical trends over a larger range of youth populations and over a larger period of time than have been studied will be able to determine how firm and widespread these historical changes are. The variation in patterns of change across southern states noted here also indicates a need to investigate how large-scale structural conditions (i.e., political, educational, and economic) influence the mobility orientations and values of youth.

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OVERVIEW AND DISCUSSION

(By William P. Kuvlesky)

The purpose of this report was to review and synthesize research knowledge bearing on the educational abilities and ambitions of Black youth in the rural South. Almost all the two and a quarter million rural Black youth in the United States reside in the South. These youth constitute about one-tenth of all rural youth in the United States and about one-fifth of all rural youth living in the South. Most of the Black youth in the rural South are under eighteen years of age -- about 80 percent of the total number. Clearly, we are talking about a large number of young people and a very significant proportion of rural youth in both the southern region and the country as a whole.

The significance of this youth population goes beyond its large size. Few would question that rural Black youth in the South are among the most deprived of all youth segments of our society from almost any perspective: physical well-being, potentials for vertical social mobility, and positive personality attributes (i.e., self concepts and images). While these youth are experiencing the results of a dramatic social change in educational institutions, the demise of the "separate but equal" treatment, most are still probably subject to attitudes and behaviors rooted in the older beliefs and traditions of the rural South. This situation constitutes a significant problem not only for them but for their white counterparts, their local schools, and the communities as well. Undoubtedly much attention will be given these problems by social scientists and educational policymakers and planners; yet, published research on the status, abilities, interests and social orientations of rural Black southern youth is sadly lacking. What is more, what published findings do exist are scattered widely in a variety of specialized publications. Our objectives were

to attempt to review and synthesize existing knowledge about these youths' educational abilities and ambitions in order to challenge a number of simplistic stereotypes that exist about them, to begin developing a general framework for assessing relevance of new knowledge, and to stimulate a concern for and interest in further research on these youth and the problems they face.

Past research has indicated that rural youth of early school age generally are disadvantaged relative to urban youth in reference to measured intelligence, social skills, and personality adaptation and that this disadvantage increases with age (Kuvlesky, 1973). Most of this reported research was based on research of White children outside of the South. Our synthesis of research on southern rural Black youth demonstrates that they probably fit this general pattern. There is no question that these youth do more poorly on standardized tests purported to measure cognitive abilities, aptitudes, and personality adjustment attributes. Whether or not the measures of their abilities and attributes obtained through tests developed up to this time are valid or not remains an open question which should be addressed by carefully designed future research. The bulk of the accumulated evidence on rural-urban differences of other kinds of youth leads us to speculate that rural Black youth in the South are probably experiencing developmental disadvantages at a relatively early age and that their disadvantage in this regard increases over time relative to their urban and White counterparts. We feel, however, that it is a mistake to dwell on these differences in measures of central tendencies between or among these groupings. This tends to lead to erroneous stereotyping of rural Black youth as a relatively homogeneous grouping. Our own conclusion from the research reviewed is that rural Black youth are very heterogeneous in reference to abilities and skills.

This heterogeneity should be recognized and an understanding of it used in the development and implementation of counseling and educational policies and programs aimed at serving rural Black youths. It could be disastrous to treat two youthswith identical vocational aspirations and expectations but very different levels of ability and types of aptitudes with similar counseling.

Dietrich's synthesis of past research on educational status projections of rural (nonmetropolitan) Black youth in the South produced some relatively firm generalizations, which contribute to a better understanding of this grouping and challenges some commonly accepted stereotypical notions about this grouping. First, these youths have high level aspirations and expectations irrespective of sex, social class, and place of residence -- often as high or higher than those of their White, rural counterparts. Almost half of all rural Black youth generally aspire to and expect a college education and the vast majority desire and expect to complete some post-high school educational program. Conversely, few either desire or expect to quit high school or terminate their education with high school graduation -- generally the status attainment level achieved by most of their parents. These youth also have <u>strong</u> educational aspirations -- they value their educational goals highly relative to other life ends.

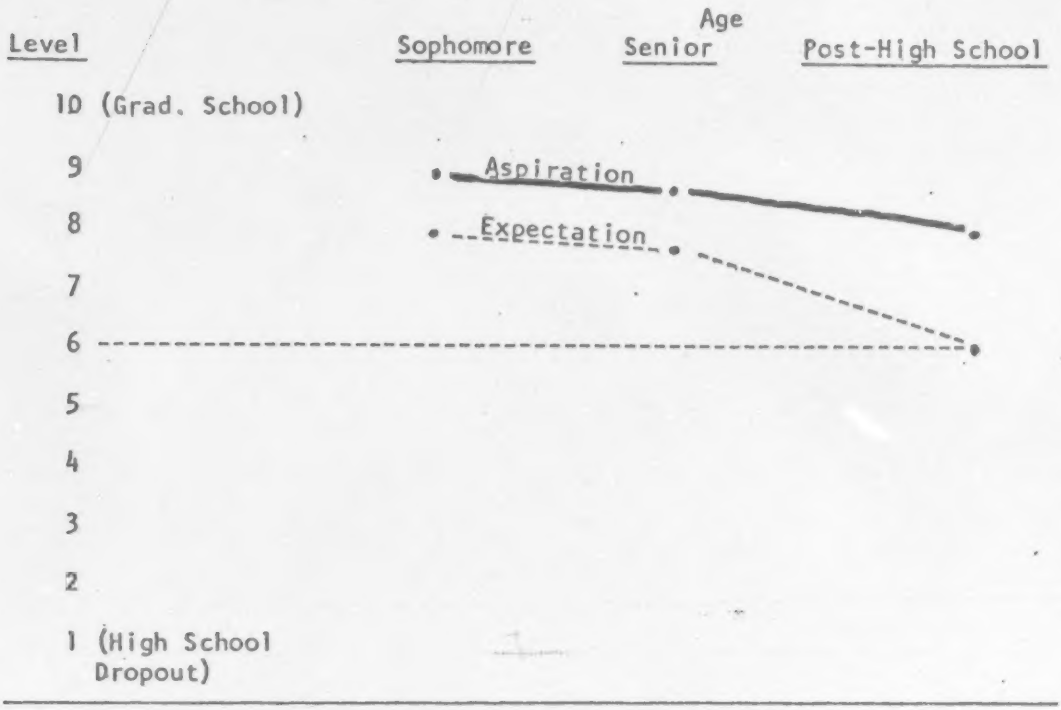
Dietrich also observes that there is evidence to indicate that educational aspirations and expectations are unstable for many rural Black youth over late adolescence, that racial integration of schools has apparently not influenced educational status projections very much, and that apparent social constraints appear to have only a small impact on educational goal development. Cosby and Falk elaborate on the nature of the developmental process of educational status projections, indicating that over late adolescence the levels of

aspiration and expectation of rural Black youth demonstrate only minor changes in the aggregate. They also indicate that about 40%-35% of the individual youth actually change their educational status projections over this period of development.

The synthesis of findings provided on the dynamics of the developmental process of occupational status projections produced some important new understandings about rural Black youth in the South. Cosby and Falk report that, generally,a majority of these youth have high level aspirations and expectations for occupational attainment by the time they are high school sophomores and that, in the aggregate, their profiles of occupational status projections do not change much over later adolescence or even in early adulthood. In other words, most of these youth maintain high level occupational status projections from mid-adolescence (15-16 years of age) through early adulthood (21-22 years of age). At the same time, some evidence has demonstrated a tendency for relatively greater stability for aspirations than expectations as the youths' age-occupational expectations tend to decline relative to aspirations, particularly after high school (Diagram 1).

Even though there is relatively high stability in aggregate profiles of occupational aspirations and expectations over time,as youth move from mid-adolescence into early adulthood, Cosby and Falk cite evidence indicating that, generally,about half of any youth grouping -- sometimes more -- actually modify their specific occupational orientations over this period of development. These individual changes tend to be divided between adjustments to higher and lower status levels, which tend to cancel each other out in aggregate comparisons. Obviously then,it can be concluded that many, if not most, rural Black youth are in the process of adjusting their occupational status orientations through late adolescence. What is more, evidence indicates that for many rural Black

Diagram 1. Developmental Change in the Educational Aspiration and Expectation Levels of Southern Rural Black Youth.



*This is a hypothetical construction depicting our speculation of a probable general pattern based on the limited research reported. Neither the ordinal values shown nor the magnitude of change in these are meant to be taken as precise measurements; they simply serve as relative approximations of ordinal position between extreme points on a continuum of variation.

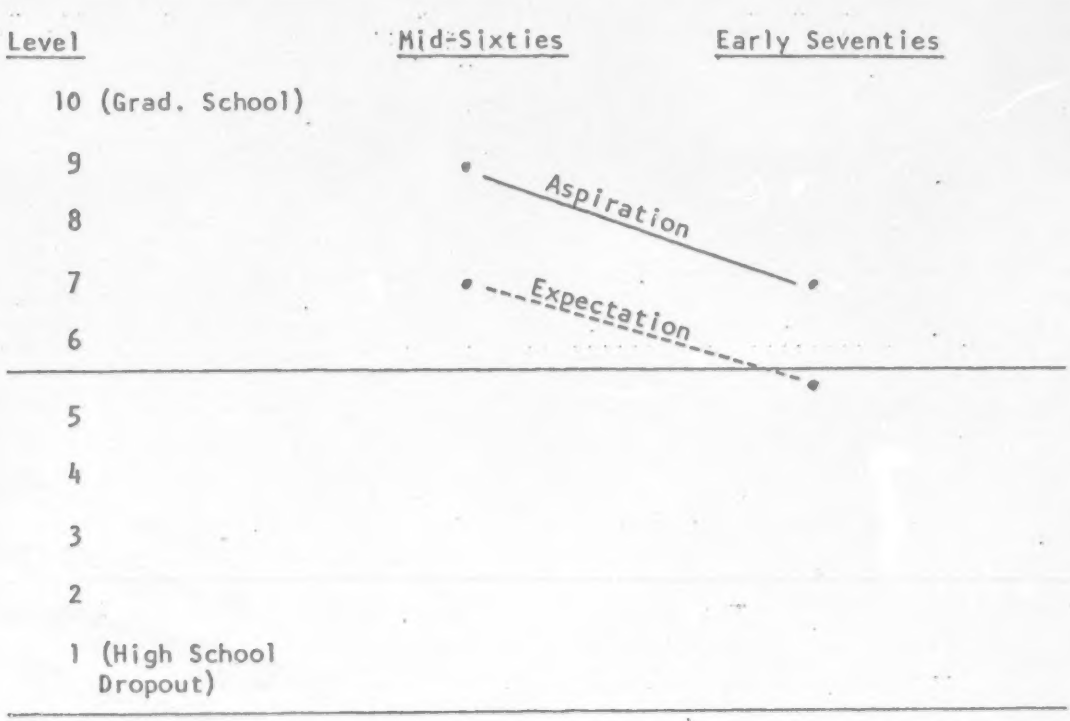
youth, marked adjustments take place in occupational status expectations after high school, presumably because they become more aware of reality factors (i.e., impediments or blockages to attainment of their high aspirations).

Cosby and Falk cite evidence indicating that most rural Black youth in the South perceive limitations in their education or educational opportunities as blocking attainment of their occupational aspirations. They also tended to perceive lack of job opportunities similarly. The extant research on perceived "goal blockage" indicates that rural Black youth generally perceive interference from structural elements in the accomplishment of their goals for social mobility to a much greater extent than they perceive inadequacies in themselves presenting a problem in this regard.

Little firm empirical evidence exists on the nature of historical patterns of change in the status projections of youth of any kind. It is generally believed that rural youths' status projections have risen since the forties and some evidence exists to support this. Also, it is commonly presumed that during the late fifties and early sixties a dramatic shift upwards took place in reference to the status aspirations and expectations of "disadvantaged" youth, particularly minority ethnic youth. Whether or not there has been an "explosion of rising aspirations and expectations" among rural Black youth or not, it is quite clear that most held very high status projections during the late sixties.

Perhaps the only study specifically designed to investigate historical change in this regard was done in the South by the "S-81" research group on rural Black and White youth encompassing the period from the mid-sixties to the late seventies. Preliminary findings from this study indicate that educational aspirations and expectation levels in general declined markedly for high school sophomores over a six-year period and declined slightly for high school seniors over a four-year period (Diagram 2). The nature and magnitude of historical

Diagram 2. Historical Change in Educational Aspirations and Expectations Levels of Southern Rural Black Adolescents from Mid-Sixties to Early Seventies.



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change was observed to have varied by state, indicating that intraregional variation in local social structures may be important in this regard. Also, findings exist to indicate that valuation of education goals may be decreasing as valuation of family goals increase among rural Black youth (Diagram 3). Evidence also exists to indicate that rural Black youth are becoming less certain about achieving their expected educational attainments.

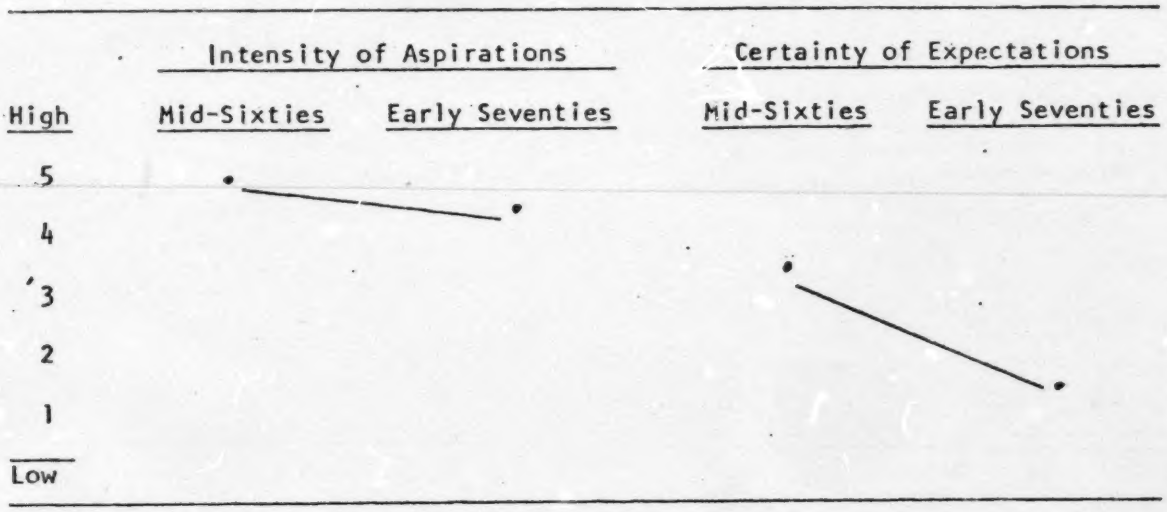
Considering the short historical span involved in this study, the evidence of marked patterns of change may indicate a rather sharp shift in values and social orientations among these youth. Certainly, there is a need to expand the research on this problem to test the evolving generalizations described above and to monitor the patterns of change over longer periods of time.

Discussion

Perhaps the most important finding to come out of this effort is the extent to which social and behavioral scientists have failed to focus their research attention on southern rural Black youth. It should be quite apparent to the reader that the research evidence we have located on the educational abilities and ambitions of these youth are often widely scattered across time, evolve from small samples varying in nature, and often are not directly comparable. Much of what we have uncovered is of very recent origin, making it almost impossible to develop any kind of even limited understanding of historical trends. Most often the empirical generalizations that were posited should be viewed as propositions to be evaluated by additional investigation due to the rather shallow and uneven base of findings from which they were constructed.

A limitation of this report is also inherent in our deliberate specification of a rather narrow focus for synthesis -- educational abilities and ambitions. Obviously we need to know a lot more about the life situations, social

Diagram 3. Historical Change in Intensity of Aspiration and Feelings of Certainty about Actual Attainment of Status Expectations among Southern Rural Black Youth from Mid-Sixties to Early Seventies.



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involvements and patterns, values and attitudes, and abilities and interests of these youth even if our primary focus is on serving their educational needs and potentials. What research has been done in this regard? Is there anyone among you reading this interested enough to expand the start we have made toward synthesizing the understanding we have about the nature of these youth and their life experiences? Even within our narrow focus we have left questions unanswered which deserve attention. For instance, we examined, rather thoroughly, research on rural Black youths' aspirations and expectations for formal educational status attainment and their valuations of their educational goals; however, we did not examine why they value education (or a particular kind of education) or whether or not they were oriented toward educational experiences outside of formal structures. These questions, and other similar ones, are worthy of attention and need investigation.

Whatever the limitations of our focus or of the base of research knowledge examined within it, we feel that this effort does move ahead our general understandings about Black youth residing in the nonmetropolitan sectors of the South. The evidence is sufficient to bring into serious question a number of harmful stereotypes commonly held about these youth. Furthermore, the diversity of ability, interests, and ambitions demonstrated to exist among them by the research syntheses presented here should caution one against considering this youth population as a relatively homogeneous category. Also, the variability noted in attributes of these youth by state or local areas within the region should also caution against assuming that this grouping generally shares a common life experience, subculture, or social environment -- it seems safer to assume the opposite till proven otherwise. Both of the cautions just noted should discourage policymakers and program developers from attempting to design standardized programs aimed at all youth of this type.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Both authors have written numerous papers on education, sociology, and rural youth. Dr. Boykin is presently Associate Director of the Southern Rural Development Center and Coordinator for the Alcorn State University Branch of the Mississippi Cooperative Extension Service, as well as Professor of Agriculture. Dr. Kuvlesky is currently Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociology at Texas A&M University, and was formerly Senior Researcher in the College of Agriculture at Prairie View A&M University.